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JOURNAL

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXXI Part I 1912

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1911

THE forty-seventh meeting of the Society was held in Sherred Hall of the General Theological Seminary, Ninth Avenue and Twenty-first Street, New York City, on Thursday and Friday, December 28th and 29th, 1911. The first session began at 11.10 A.M., with President Burton in the Chair. The reading of the records was dispensed with, as they had been distributed in print. The Recording Secretary and the Corresponding Secretary read their annual reports, which were accepted and placed on file. Professor Denslow presented the invitation of the General Theological Seminary, making the members of the Society the guests of the Seminary during the sessions.

The President appointed Professors Bacon, Barton, and Jastrow, a Committee to nominate officers. Professor Prince read the Treasurer's report. The Recording Secretary read his financial statement. These two papers were referred to Professors Frame and Betteridge as an Auditing Committee.

At 11.30 Professor Burton gave the Presidential address on "Some Phases of the Synoptic Problem." In view of the general interest shown in this paper, it was voted to open it to discussion. The Vice-President, Professor Paton, took the Chair. The subject was discussed by Professors Bacon, Porter, and Barton, Professor Burton making some remarks in reply.

At 12.35, the President resumed the Chair. Professor Arnold read a paper on "The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine." This was discussed until 1 P.M., when a recess was taken for lunch and social hour.

Thursday P.M. The Society resumed its session at 2.25. Papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Jastrow: "On the Original Character of the Atonement Festival." By Professor Wood: "St. Paul's Use of Prophetic and Priestly Scriptures." Professor Hyvernat gave an account of the Coptic manuscripts in the library of Mr. John Pierpont Morgan, and exhibited many facsimiles of these rare papers. Professor Bewer gave the following critical notes: (1) "The Superscription of the Oracle against Edom in Isa. 21 11." (2) "Did the Jews plan to build a Yahweh Temple in Babylonia?" (3) "The Originality of the Samaritan Reading *Gerizim* in Dt. 27 4." Professor Paton read on "Dagon and Dagan," Professor Haupt on "John Hyrcanus's Campaign against the Edomites," Dr. Schick on "Some Difficult Passages in the Psalms." Professor Montgomery presented three notes, as follows: (1) "On Ḥoze, Isa. 12 15." (2) "On Succoth-Benoth, 2 Kings 17 30." (3) "On the Name Ahikar." Professor Heffern read on "The Four Women in the Genealogy of Christ."

Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Thursday evening. The Society met at 8 in the library. The librarian of the Seminary, Mr. Edward Harmon Virgin, gave a very interesting and familiar talk on some books and manuscripts of especial value, which the library contains, and invited the members to inspect them.

The report of the Director of the American School in Jerusalem, Prof. Charles Rufus Brown, was read by the Recording Secretary. Professor Shepard read on "A Massoretic Manuscript of the Old Testament, of date 1264, in the Library of the General Theological Seminary."

The remainder of the evening was spent in an informal examination of the rich treasures of the library.

Adjourned at 10.

Friday A.M., December 29. The Society met at 9.20. The Council reported that they had reëlected Prof. J. A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Pub-

lishing Committee; also that the time and place of the next meeting are to be arranged in conjunction with the meeting of the Archæological Institute, provided the latter meeting is held not further west than Washington, D.C.

The Council nominated the following active members, who were then unanimously elected:

Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Hamilton, N.Y.
Miss Ethel Cutler, B.D., New York City.
Rev. F. C. Harding, Yonkers, N.Y.
Miss Harriet E. Johnson, Boston.
Rev. Robert F. Lau, New York City.
Rev. Fred. M. Lindsay, New York City.
Rev. George Norcross, D.D., Carlisle, Pa.
Rev. Daniel I. Odell, Philadelphia.
Prof. Wm. R. Newbold, Philadelphia.
Prof. Llewellyn Phillips, Bucknell Univ., Pa.
Prof. J. Milton Vance, Wooster Univ., Ohio.
Rev. H. B. Vanderbogart, Middletown, Conn.
Miss Katrine Wheelock, New York City.
Rev. Wm. C. White, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N.Y.
Miss Eleanor D. Wood, Wellesley College, Mass.

Professor Wood offered the following resolution: That the thanks of the Society be returned to the General Theological Seminary for the hospitable and bountiful arrangements provided for this meeting. This was adopted by a unanimous vote. Informal remarks were made by several members favoring a closer affiliation between the Society and the School at Jerusalem.

Professor Jastrow, of the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers:

Prof. Lewis B. Paton	*President.*
Prof. George A. Barton	*Vice-President.*
Rev. Wm. H. Cobb	*Recording Secretary.*
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince	*Treasurer.*
Prof. H. P. Smith	*Associates in Council.*
Prof. E. D. Burton	
Prof. W. R. Arnold	
Prof. W. R. Betteridge	
Prof. L. W. Batten	
Prof. J. P. Peters	*To represent the Society on the Palestine School.*
Pres. Mary A. Woolley	
Prof. A. T. Clay	

These were all unanimously elected.

It was voted to send the Treasurer a set of the Journal to replace one lost in the burning of his home.

It was voted to limit the reading of papers to twenty minutes each. During the remainder of the morning papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Schmidt: "The 'God of the Hebrews' in the Paris Magical Papyrus, ll. 3019 ff." By Dr. Poebel: "The Royal Standing-Place in the Temple." By Dr. Vanderburgh: "The Ode on the King of Babylon, Isa. 14 4b-21." By Professor Barton: "The Hebrew Originals of the Names of Angels and Demons in Ethiopic Enoch." By Professor Stearns: "A Collation of the Papyrus Fragments bearing on the New Testament Text." By Professor Haupt: "The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God." By Professor Moulton: "Irenæus on the Dating of the Gospels." By Professor Yerkes: "Some Notes on the Use of *El* in Genesis." By Professor Montgomery: "New Testament Quotations in the Odes of Solomon."

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,
Recording Secretary.

[The List of Members and Constitution and By-Laws will appear at the end of the Volume.]

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine[1]

WILLIAM R. ARNOLD

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

AMONG the papyri discovered at Elephantine in the years 1907 and 1908, and recently published by Professor Sachau of Berlin, is one which relates to the feast of the Passover. It is Papyrus 6 of the Sachau publication.[2] This brief and fragmentary document is second in interest and importance only to the two papyri which preserve the text of the petition from the Jewish community at Elephantine to the Persian governor of Judea, invoking his aid toward restoring the Yahwè temple of Elephantine, destroyed in 410 B.C.

Papyrus 6 is the original of a letter addressed to this Jewish community at Elephantine in the year 419 B.C., nine years before the destruction of their temple, by a certain Hananyah, a Jew residing at some other locality in Egypt. The papyrus is, and was originally, about four and a half inches long. The fragment of it which remains is about eight and a quarter inches wide. What the original width was, we cannot say, as the left end has been torn off clean at a fold in the papyrus; probably, however, not more than an inch or two is lacking all the way down that end. Unfortunately that is not the extent of the damage. An entire section in addition is missing from the lower right-hand corner, so that in all not more than two-thirds of the original text remains. What remains is perfectly legible, however, and there can be almost no question as to its correct interpretation.

[1] The substance of this article was read at the meeting of the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* in New York, December 28, 1911.

[2] *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-kolonie zu Elephantine*, Leipsic, 1911.

The letter consisted of six complete lines on the obverse side of the papyrus, after two initial words in a separate line at the top, and two and a half lines on the reverse side, besides a docket or address in one line at the lower edge, which appeared on the outside of the document when the latter was folded and sealed. The docket reads:

אחי ידניה וכנותה חילא יהודיא אחוכם חנניה

A portion of the papyrus has been torn away before the word אחי, which probably contained the word אל. So that the address ran as follows: *To my brethren, Yedonyah and his associates the Judean garrison, your brother Hananyah.*

The docket enables us to piece out with assurance the gaps which worms have left in the superscription of the letter. Doing which, we secure the following text (suppletory letters bracketed; seriously mutilated ones overlined):

OBVERSE

1 [אל אחי]

2 [יד]נִיה וכנותה חַ[ילא י]הוד[י]א אחוכם חנַנ[יה] שלם אחי אלהיא . . .

3 וכעת שנתא זא שנת III II דריהוש מלכא מן מלכא שליח על ארש[ם . . .

4 . . . . . יא כעת אנתם כן מנו ארבַ[עת עשר

5 . . . . . דו ומן יום י III II עד יום ב ו ל . . .

6 . . . . . דכין חוו ואודהרו עבידח א[ל . . .

7 . . . . . אַל תשתו וכל מנדעם זי חמיר א . . .

REVERSE

8 . . . . . מערב שמשא עד יום ב ו לנים[ן . . .

9 . . . . . ה]נַעלו בתוניכם וחתמו בין יומי . . .

10 . . . . . א

TRANSLATION

1 *To my brethren,*

2 *Yedonyah and his associates the Judean garrison, your brother Hananyah: The welfare of my brethren may the Gods . . .*

3 *For the rest: This year, the year 5 of Darius the King, being sent from the King to Arsames . . .*

4 . . . . . *Now, do ye count thus fou(rteen)*

5 . . . . . *and from the 15th day to the 21st day of . .*

6 . . . . . *Be ye clean and make yourselves ready. No work . .*

7 . . . . . *ye shall not drink. And everything that leaven . . .*

8 . . . . . *the setting of the sun to the 21st day of Nisan . . .*

9 . . . . . *take into your rooms and lock up between the days of . .*

10 . . . . . .

Line 2. The full name of Yedonyah, the leader of the Jewish community at Elephantine at this date, as well as later when the temple was destroyed and for some time thereafter, was *Yedonyah bar Gemaryah;* compare Sachau Papyrus 5 (quoted below); Papyrus 15, where the first name was carelessly spelled ידניא (Sachau transcribes wrongly ידניה); and Papyrus 18, col. 7, where Yedonyah appears as the custodian of the great collection of money for the temple of Yahwè. Papyrus 15 is not improbably an account of the attack on the temple, when Yedonyah and his companions, the writer among them (read in line 4 בבבא בנא, not בבבא בבא, as Sachau), were assaulted (or insulted, אתחרפו, not אתחרבו 'killed,' as suggested by Sachau) while guarding the entrance to the temple. On the etymology of the name Yedonyah, see Sachau, *l.c.*, p. 8, and Lidzbarski, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1911, col. 2980.

After אֱלָהָיָא we must supply יִשְׁאֲלוּ, literally, *The welfare of my brethren may the Gods ask after*, idiomatic for *God greet you!* The sentence is a stereotyped Aramaic formula. It does not follow from the use of such an expression that "mehrere Götter unter den jüdischen Kolonen verehrt wurden" (Sachau, *l.c.*, p. 38). On the other hand, although אלהיא is the lexical equivalent of Hebrew האלהים, it is not, in this context, synonymous with Yahwè, as maintained by Eduard Meyer.[3] Whether or not the Hebrew האלהים, in the mouth of a Jew of this period, meant Yahwè, would very much depend upon the matter in hand. (Commonly, the surrogate of Yahwè would be אלהים *Deity*, not האלהים *the gods.*) Hananyah certainly did not use a singular verb with the determinate plural noun, or read a meaning of his own into the accepted Aramaic rubric.[4] Without "worshiping" other gods or conceding their equality with the God of Heaven, even the "orthodox" Jew of this period might in his ordinary mood — the nascent Old Testament literature notwithstanding — accept both their existence and

[3] "Zu den aramäischen Papyri von Elephantine," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1911, p. 1051.

[4] Compare Lidzbarski, *l.c.*, col. 2971.

the fact of their power for good or ill. The long-exiled Judeans of Elephantine might even contribute something to the cultus of the gods of their non-Israelitish Aramean countrymen in Egypt,[5] without impairing their loyalty to the ancestral god.

Line 3. וּכְעָת, which I render *For the rest*, literally *And now*, introduces the substance of the communication, as in Ezra 4 17 and, in the uncontracted form וּכְעָנַת, Ezra 4 11, 7 12.

שְׁלִיחַ, passive participle, is not impersonal, as is assumed by Sachau and Ed. Meyer. The subject was indicated in the lost finite verb which followed the word ארשם, and to which this participle is circumstantial; compare Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, §§ 275, 277. See further below.

Line 4. The detached letters יא are apparently preceded by a ד: יהודיא?

At the end of the line I supplete, with Sachau, Ed. Meyer, and Lidzbarski, [אַרְבְּ]עַת עֲשַׂר, *fourteen*.

Line 5, end. Supply נִיסָן, after the parallel in line 8.

Line 6. אִזְדַּהֲרוּ, *take warning, prepare yourselves*. עֲבִידָה begins a new sentence.

Line 7. The י of זִי and the מ of חֲמִיר are by no means plain. If one may judge from the photographic reproduction, the ink seems to have run in the fibers of the papyrus. Or perhaps the papyrus is a palimpsest, with the earlier writing not completely removed. In any case, the two characters cannot be read otherwise.

מִנְדַּעַם, *thing*, cf. Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, p. 312; occurs a number of times in the papyri.

The א at the end of the line is certain. Doubtless we should supplete, with Sachau, אִיתַי בֵּהּ, *and everything that has leaven in it*.

Line 9. The first word preserved is not וְעָלוּ, as Sachau, followed by Ed. Meyer. The mutilated first letter cannot be a ו, but may very well be נ. Read הַנְעִלוּ (Hanphel of עלל); cf. Sayce-Cowley Papyrus G 6. 7. 24. 27. Only so, moreover, can we construe חתמו, which otherwise remains

[5] Sachau Papyrus 18, col. 7.

without an object. Sachau renders, *tretet in euere Gemächer und versiegelt (macht Schluss?) zwischen den Tagen.* Meyer: *Geht in euere Kammern und siegelt (?) zwischen den Tagen*, adding what he would doubtless admit to be a rather far-fetched interpretation, "Setzt ein Siegel, macht eine Scheidewand zwischen diesen Festtagen und den Werktagen." The single object of הנעלו and חתמו preceded both verbs. We must read חַתְּמוּ (Pa'il), which does not mean *to seal*, but *to lock up*. The reference is perhaps to merchandise, ordinarily displayed in open booths or upon the street, which they are directed to stow away during the first and seventh days of the feast (see below). If this interpretation is correct, Lidzbarski's suggested reading for the remainder of the line, "בֵּין יוֹמָא *zwischen Tag und Nacht*, entsprechend בֵּין שְׁמַשָׁא" (*l.c.*, col. 2970), must be rejected, and we must abide by בֵּין יוֹמֵי. Is בין *during?*

The original letter contained six or seven more words, beyond the point where the above translation finally breaks off; but (and this is important) it contained no more, for the next line stopped half-way across the papyrus.

It is perfectly clear that we have here a letter of instruction to the Jewish community at Elephantine, with directions for the punctilious observance of a feast to which the seven days extending from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the month Nisan sustain some essential relation; a feast which, moreover, requires abstinence from labor during at least a part of its continuance. This can be none other than the Passover — employing the term in the looser sense, of the Passover and feast of Unleavened Bread combined. And with this much assured, we need not hesitate to find in the suspended words of line 7 a reference to the banishing of leaven from every nook and corner of the houses of the faithful.

One point only occasions remark: the prohibition of some sort of beverage. No such prohibition is found in any of the Old Testament laws concerning the Passover. And the beverage in question can hardly have been wine. The later

Rabbinical usage prescribed such repeated potations of wine during the Passover ritual[6] that drunkenness not infrequently resulted. The New Testament evidence is familiar. It is true that we have no positive testimony to the use of wine during the Passover festivities until late in the second century B.C.[7] Our earliest witness is the Book of Jubilees, which in 49 6 represents the Israelites as drinking wine at the first Passover in Egypt; this implies that the drinking of wine at the Passover was not merely allowed, but actually customary and regular in the writer's day. However, the suggestion recently made by Beer that wine came into use in connection with the Passover only after 350 B.C. and under Greek influence, is lacking in plausibility. Hannah needed no Greek influence, in the opinion credited to the experienced Eli, on the occasion of another great festival at Shiloh. And while it is not probable that wine-drinking accompanied the celebration of the old nomad Passover, so long as this remained distinct from the Canaanitish feast of Unleavened Bread, it is hard to believe that the latter feast was ever observed without the use of wine, if there was any to be had. The fact will be that wine came into use in connection with the Passover ritual when, and in proportion as, it was combined and identified, in post-exilic Judaism, with the feast of Unleavened Bread. In any case, we have no reason to believe that there ever was a time when the use of wine at the Passover or at the feast of Unleavened Bread was actually prohibited. For the rest, the fact that the Old Testament laws contain no prohibition of any particular beverage, and that this brief letter of instruction to the Jews of Elephantine specifically prohibits one, leaves no doubt that the reference in the latter is to some beverage very common in Egypt and almost if not quite unknown in Palestine. This must be beer.[8] Egyptian beer, produced from barley with the addition of certain vegetable ingredients,[9]

[6] Mishna, Pesaḥim 10 1.

[7] See Beer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1911, p. 153.

[8] So also Lidzbarski, *l.c.*, col. 2970. I owe the suggestion, together with the reference to the Mishnic law, to Professor George F. Moore.

[9] See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, I, pp. 53 f.

was held to fall clearly under the law of forbidden leaven: a passage in the Mishna[10] prohibits explicitly, during the Feast of Passover, the use of "Egyptian beer," together with other fermented liquids into which cereals have entered.

From the limited dimensions of our papyrus, and especially from the distribution of the surviving material, it is quite certain that the papyrus made no reference whatever to the slaying of the Passover lamb. The only available space for the mention of the Passover lamb is in the first half of line 5, and not even all of that half-line is available, for at least the word יומן must have stood there to complete the sentence at the end of line 4. There is room for only three or four words, not enough for the barest reference to the rite, to say nothing of any instructions in connection with it. In other words, *our papyrus related solely to the feast of Unleavened Bread.*

Nor may we suppose that the Passover lamb is to be omitted from the observance out of regard for the susceptibilities of the native Egyptians and their aversion to the slaughter of rams and he-goats, as was done later with all animal sacrifices at the restoration of the temple of Elephantine.[11] For it must be remembered that for nine years after the date of this papyrus, animal sacrifices continued to be offered uninterruptedly in the Yahwè temple at Elephantine. Up to this point there had been no trouble with the Egyptians. In fact, as we shall see, it is with this very communication of Hananyah's that the era of "trouble" begins.

Now a national Israelitish feast of Passover, as distinguished from the feast of Unleavened Bread, is unknown to both J and E. The word הפסח in the so-called J Decalogue (Ex. 34 25) is a gloss: חג הפסח is impossible Hebrew, and the parallel passage in Ex. 23 18 shows that it is הפסח which is interpolated, and not חג, as maintained by Stade.[12] The injunction of Ex. 34 25 = 23 18 related to (the fat of) the sacrifice at any feast of Yahwè. The Passover is unknown

[10] Pesahim, 3 1.

[11] See Sachau Papyri 5 and 3; and compare Lidzbarski, *l.c.*, col. 2968.

[12] *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 197.

also to E. Both these documents know only the feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 34 18, 23 15). I am not affirming that both or either of these authors had never heard of the Passover sacrifice, and that one or other of them may not have had it in mind in the story of the pretended "Feast of Yahwè" which the Children of Israel were to celebrate on coming out of Egypt, although there is less to support this view than is generally assumed. I am maintaining that neither of them incorporates it in his summary of the obligatory institutions common to all Israel in his own day. It need not have been such, any more than the vastly more important, and certainly annual, feast of Sheep-Shearing.

The earliest mention of the Passover in the Torah of Israel, and the earliest authentic occurrence of the word פסח in the literature of the Old Testament, is in the Deuteronomic law (Dt. 16).[13] Even thereafter, Ezekiel still makes no mention of it. For in Ez. 45 21 again, the word הפסח is a gloss, this time inserted against the grain, before the word חג, by some reader who thought the feast beginning on the fourteenth day of the first month must be פסח, though the writer himself had called it the Seven-Day Feast of מצות. In Ex. 12 18 the Priest Code makes Mazzoth begin on the evening of the fourteenth day.

The section on the Passover and Unleavened Bread in Dt. 16, where the two feasts are interwoven, is unquestionably conflate. It has been plausibly supposed (Steuernagel) that D had originally no feast of Unleavened Bread, but only Passover, besides the other two great feasts, and that the verses 3, 4, 8, which introduce the unleavened bread, are later expansions. However that may be, the narrative of Josiah's celebration in 2 Ki. 23 21-23 leaves no room for question (1) that D had the Passover as one of the three great annual feasts, whether or not combined with the eating of unleavened bread for seven days, and (2) that until the publication of the Deuteronomic law the Passover had not been recog-

[13] Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*[6], p. 82.

nized as a great sanctuary festival in Israel, at any rate not since the occupation of Canaan.[14]

In spite of all this, however, we must not hasten to assign our papyrus to pre-Deuteronomic influences. For though D introduced the Passover sacrifice, which is absent from the papyrus, into the national law, it explicitly limited that sacrifice, as well as all others, to the one single sanctuary of Jerusalem (Dt. 16 5-6). And the priestly legislation and narrative take this limitation for granted. They certainly do not repudiate it.[15] So that there are other and sufficient reasons for omitting the Passover sacrifice from the celebration at Elephantine. To be sure, the Jews at Elephantine had a sanctuary of their own, at which they would have felt as free to sacrifice the Passover as any other animal offering. But our papyrus relates to a ritual which is being delivered to them, as we shall see, directly from abroad, and presumably from Palestine. It is not likely that the authorities at Jerusalem would be deliberately counseling the Jews of Elephantine to violate the law *by innovation*, although they might perhaps hesitate to interfere with a sacrificial cultus which had existed continuously for a hundred and seventy years.

On the other hand, that our papyrus comes from a source

[14] Such is the meaning of the Hebrew of verse 22: *For no such Pesah had been made during* (not *from*) *the days of the judges who judged Israel and during all the days of the kings of Israel and the kings of Judah.*

[15] On this point more or less confusion prevails. We are told that the priestly legislation (Ex. 12) restored the Passover sacrifice from the sanctuary, to which it had been limited by D, to the homes of the people. But the fact is, that though P relegated the institution of it to the pre-Sinaitic days when there was no sanctuary, he took especial pains to assert that for all time thereafter it was to be a sanctuary festival: וחגתם אתו חג ליהוה לדרתיכם חקת עולם תחגהו (Ex. 12 14). Contrast with this language the expression employed in connection with the observance of the law regarding Unleavened Bread (verse 17). Had P actually made of the Passover lamb a home-institution, it would to-day be sacrificed in every quarter of the globe. The Passover of later Judaism was a home-festival only in the sense that after the lamb had been offered in the temple, it was eaten in the dwellings of the people *in attendance at the feast in Jerusalem*, not in the sense that it could be slain wherever one happened to reside. And we have no reason to believe that P intended any more latitude than this.

familiar with the priestly legislation, is indisputable.[16] It prescribes only the feast of Unleavened Bread, but it is the feast of the priestly law, not that of J or of E, nor yet that of Deuteronomy in its present form. For, the determination of the precise days of the month, during which the seven days' feast shall be observed, appears only in H and P. J designates no more than "seven days in the month Abib." The same is true of E.[17] D, in its expanded form, likewise requires merely seven days in the month Abib. All these, of course, represent the earlier and freer practice, the precise time depending upon the forwardness of the crops, which would vary from year to year and in different localities in the same year. A new element, however, in the (expanded) Deuteronomic law, unknown to J and E, is the injunction to observe the last of the seven days as a holiday, during which no work may be performed. But even this is behind the requirements of the priestly law.

It is only with the Holiness Code (Lev. 23 5-8) that we come upon the fixed determination of the days of the month for the observance of the feast of Unleavened Bread. H appoints the Passover proper (פסח ליהוה) for the fourteenth day of the first month; it is, indeed, probable that the Passover had always been a full-moon ceremony. Thereafter, the feast of Unleavened Bread (חג המצות) is to begin on the fifteenth day and last seven days. Both the first and the seventh days are מקרא קדש, solemn assemblies, and on those days כל מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו, *ye shall do nothing involving labor*. H does not actually connect the observances of Pesaḥ and Mazzoth — any more than do the modern Samaritans. A person who had only the Holiness Code before him (with, perhaps, D in its original form) could easily concern himself with the observance of the one, while avoiding any mention of the other.

P's law of the Passover is contained in Ex. 12 3-14, and that of Mazzoth in Ex. 12 15-20, the section immediately fol-

[16] Cf. Ed. Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 1052.

[17] The authenticity of even this indefinite seven-day requirement in the oldest codes has been questioned, but, I think, without reason.

lowing. But here the two are actually combined. Not only are מצות mentioned in verse 8, but verse 15, which begins the law of Mazzoth, contains no date. The date follows later incidentally, in verse 18: *from the fourteenth day of the month at sunset, to the twenty-first day of the month at sunset.*[18] In P, as in H, the first and seventh days of the feast are "solemn assemblies," on which no labor may be performed.

On the whole, it is seen, our papyrus has closer affinities with H than with any other of the codes of the Pentateuch. The actual mention of the fifteenth day is found only in H, although the law of P does not materially differ from it. Also, in H the feast of Mazzoth is still distinct from the rite of Passover; which would make it easy to avoid even the name of Pesaḥ.[19] Perhaps, too, the language in which the papyrus prohibits labor is reminiscent of H: עבידה לא in the papyrus; כל מלאכה לא in H; כל מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו

[18] There is, by the way, no warrant for the statement sometimes made, and repeated by Eduard Meyer (*l.c.*, p. 1052, note 1), that Ex. 12 18 stretches the feast from seven days to eight. The "evening of the fourteenth day" is exactly when the fifteenth day begins, and the "evening of the twenty-first day" is in any case exactly seven whole days thereafter. There is, therefore, no reason for denying this verse to P, but quite the contrary.

[19] The occurrence of בפסחא on an ostrakon (Sachau, Plate 64, 2; previously published by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, pp. 229 ff.), to which Ed. Meyer refers (*l.c.*, p. 1051, note 3), would prove nothing as regards our papyrus, even if the context were perfectly clear; for the ostrakon is of unknown date and uncertain provenance.

On the other hand, the "Aramean Ostrakon from Elephantine," published by Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1911, pp. 183 f., which he finds "especially interesting on account of its reference to the Passover," has been wrongly deciphered and entirely misinterpreted by him. To begin with, he has attempted to read it wrong end foremost; his "obverse" and "reverse" should be transposed. The ostrakon is a letter from a rather illiterate husband to his wife, bidding her take good care of the children until he returns, assuring her that he will be responsible for any bills she may incur with the provision merchants for her maintenance, directing her what to do if unable to obtain supplies from them, promising to send her something, and charging her to be of good cheer and to be sure to tell him all about the baby. If, as Sayce affirms, the ostrakon "is in an unusually good state of preservation, every letter being legible on both obverse and reverse," he has published a singularly wretched photograph of the "obverse" side. But enough of it is legible to warrant the outline I have given, and to show that the ostrakon has no mention of the Passover.

יעשה בהם in P. Not much should be made of this point, however, as the Aramaic עבידה is the exact equivalent of Hebrew מלאכה. On the other hand, though P alone alludes to ridding the houses of leaven, the custom may well be older than P. But the question as between H and P need not be pressed.

To sum up, then, we have seen that this papyrus shows an attempt to impose upon the Jews of Egypt the observance of the feast of Unleavened Bread, not in the old Israelitish form of J or E, or even of the expanded D, but in the form prescribed by the priestly legislation. It is distinctly the post-exilic Jewish observance which is here enjoined. Whether the Jews of Elephantine had retained the old Canaanitish institution in a looser form since the days of Psammetik II, a hundred and seventy years before, we cannot tell. Probably they had not.[20]

For the history of Old Testament literature it is to be noted that this papyrus affords the first conclusive evidence that the Holiness Code, at all events, had been composed before 419 B.C.[21]

One question remains, and that perhaps the most important; namely, as to the authority behind this promulgation of the feast of Unleavened Bread.

Sachau renders the third line of the papyrus, "Und nun in diesem Jahr, dem Jahr 5 des Königs Darius, ist von dem Könige an Arsames (die Botschaft) geschickt worden—," construing the passive participle שליח as neuter and third person. He accordingly assumes that it is a Passover proclamation that has *been sent* from Darius to Arsames, and draws the consequent and far-reaching conclusions on the

[20] The tone of the Passover Papyrus seems to assume no knowledge of the institution on the part of the Jews of Elephantine. In this respect it is in marked contrast to the two letters concerning the feast of the Rededication of the Temple, addressed by the Jerusalem Jews to those of Egypt in the years 143 and 124 B.C., respectively, and preserved in the first chapters of 2 Maccabees. Compare Torrey, in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 225 ff.

[21] There is, by the way, quite decisive proof that the Darius of this text is Darius II; see below, p. 29.

relations of the Persian kings to the Jewish religion. Darius will have sent a special embassy to the governor of Egypt for the express purpose of proclaiming the Passover festival to his Jewish subjects in that country. If to Egypt, then of course to his other provinces as well. But since he will hardly have dispatched such a legation for the purpose every year, Sachau concludes that Darius had been prevailed upon by some "Nehemiah" of his entourage to proclaim, or perhaps to authorize, the observance of the Passover where formerly it had been neglected or prohibited.

Incidentally, it is of course felt that this construction of the papyrus gives renewed support to the authenticity of the documents and narratives in the book of Ezra, which have been so much discredited in recent years.

Eduard Meyer hastens to speak of our papyrus as a "Regierungserlass"; affirms, on the basis of this document, that the feast of the Passover was proclaimed by royal decree of Darius II in the year 419 B.C. for the Jews of the whole empire; and concludes that Hananyah, having brought the royal decree to Egypt, now, by direction of Arsames, transmits it to the Jews of Elephantine. He declares "die Echtheit der Urkunden des Ezrabuches durch die neuen Funde in jedem Worte erwiesen." Further, "Aufs neue zeigt sich drastisch, dass das Judentum eine Schöpfung des Perserreichs ist: die babylonischen Juden haben eben die Autorität der Regierung in Bewegung gesetzt und durch sie das von Ezra verfasste Gesetz den Juden in Palästina und der Diaspora auferlegt." And he closes his discussion with the triumphant words, "Eine glänzendere Bestätigung und Ergänzung hätte die Darstellung im Buche Ezra-Nehemiah und die auf dieselbe begründete historische Anschauung nicht erhalten können, als sie dieser Osterbrief vom Jahre 419 v. Chr. gebracht hat."[22]

On the other hand, Lidzbarski is not so certain of the royal meddling with the religious concerns of the Jews. He thinks that the official part of the document was limited to a royal ordinance for the New Year — whatever that may be

[22] *L.c.*, pp. 1035, 1052 f.

—and that the details concerning the observance of the Passover were Hananyah's personal contribution. But as this latter involved absence from military duty during the seven days of the feast,[23] the government may have concerned itself with that aspect of the matter.

Now, in point of fact, we have neither the need nor the right to beat about the bush in this fashion. Either Eduard Meyer is entirely right, or he is entirely wrong. Either the Persian government had everything to do with the Passover celebration of our papyrus, or it had nothing whatever to do with it. The whole imposing edifice of Eduard Meyer's representation rests, like an inverted pyramid, upon the single point of the intended reference of the one word שליח in line 3 of the papyrus. If the papyrus had come down to us unharmed, we should have had in the six or seven words now lost, which followed the phrase מן מלכא שליח על ארשם, at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4, a complete answer to the question. Lacking those words, we must determine the reference indirectly as best we may. But that should not allow us to confuse the issue. Either the word שליח refers to Hananyah himself, or it refers to the subject matter of his letter, the observance of the Passover. It cannot, as a matter of mere syntax, have referred to both. If it referred to Hananyah, there remains nothing in the papyrus to connect the Passover with the official mission of Hananyah. If it referred to the ordinance of the Passover, there remains nothing in the papyrus to connect Hananyah with a special royal mission on any subject. And as regards Lidzbarski's halting conclusions, if the subject matter of the papyrus, all of which relates to the details of the Passover observance, was not the subject of שליח in the introductory sentence at line 3, we have no reason in the world for assuming another

[23] Lidzbarski's view that the papyrus directed the Jews of Elephantine to abstain from work during the entire seven days of the feast (*l.c.*, col. 2970), necessitating military leave of absence from the Persian authorities for that length of time, has no warrant either in the text of the papyrus or in the usage of Judaism from the earliest times to the present day. Moreover, it is difficult to see how the military duties of the Jews of Elephantine can have been so very strenuous in ordinary times.

neuter subject outside the existing contents of the papyrus, when the latter actually supplies us with Hananyah himself as the alternative.

On the purely linguistic merits of the two alternatives there is this to be said: שליח, though it might be used of a *dispatch*, would not be used of a royal *command*, *decree*, or *proclamation*. The substance of a royal ordinance concerning the Passover would certainly have been introduced with the words מן מלכא שים טעם, and not with מן מלכא שליח על. On the other hand, compare the technical language of the pretended rescript of Artaxerxes to Ezra in Ezr. 7 14-17, where the king says, "תקנא . . . מן מלכא שליח, *being delegated by the King . . . thou shalt buy*, etc. And later, the Aramaic of *Apostle*, whether Christian or Jewish, is שליחא.[24]

Now it can be shown from the contents of another papyrus, which Sachau did not decipher and interpret correctly, (1) that Hananyah was a Jew occupying a high official position in the government of Egypt; (2) that he was not Egyptian-born, but had only recently come into the country; and (3) that his activities immediately upon his arrival resulted in straining the relations of the Jews of Elephantine with their Egyptian neighbors to the point of serious trouble for a considerable period, before the destruction of their temple in the year 410 B.C.

In view of these facts, we have, I think, no course open to us but to interpret the word שליח, in line 3 of the Passover Papyrus, of Hananyah himself. *It was not a Passover proclamation, but Hananyah himself who was sent from Darius to Arsames, on some matter of state of which we have no further information.* And in this letter of his, written to the Jews of Elephantine soon after his arrival in Egypt, before proceeding with his directions for the observance of the national feast, he naturally tells them *who he is, and by what authority he speaks:* he is special ambassador from Darius II to Arsames, Persian governor of Egypt; and he speaks by the

[24] Because its context is as yet too obscure, I disregard the sentence יאחרן זי מני שליח עליהם על זנה, apparently, *and another person who was dispatched by me (Arsames) to them on this matter* (Sachau Papyrus 8, line 6).

authority—of course, *of the priests in Jerusalem, whom he had visited on his way.* It is difficult to see how any other supposition can be entertained while this one is open.

But this is not a mere supposition. The six or seven lost words between the end of line 3 and the middle of line 4 contained a statement regarding the visit to Jerusalem, with the verb in the first person singular of the perfect tense. Only so is the particular form of the date in the letter explainable or intelligible: שְׁנָתָא זָא שְׁנַת ווו ו דריוהוש. *This year, the fifth year of Darius the King, I was sent* or *there was sent,* is not a natural expression. For an instantaneous act of that kind, we naturally demand either more circumstance or less. The Jews of Elephantine knew as well as Hananyah what year of Darius II they were then living in. If that were the burden of his statement, *this year* would have been sufficient, unless he went on to give the time of the year as well. Still less satisfactory, though syntactically more sound, is Lidzbarski's interpretation, *This year is the fifth year of Darius;*[25] but it is interesting as showing that at least one accomplished scholar feels there is something decidedly queer about the expression if interpreted as above. On the other hand, *This year, the fifth year of Darius the King, being sent from the King to Arsames, I visited the city of Jerusalem* (or something of that sort), is a perfectly natural sentence. The time of a sojourn in Jerusalem could very well be dated by the year alone. In other words, שנתא זא requires for its grammatical complement a finite verb of the purport I have assumed.

According to this interpretation, Hananyah, having been sent on a mission from Darius II to Arsames, traveled to Egypt by way of Palestine, and stopped over in Jerusalem in the 5th year of Darius II, receiving there the latest priestly

[25] *L.c.*, col. 2969. Lidzbarski accordingly assumes that Hananyah's letter is being written on the first day of the first month of the new year. But apart from the fact that the Jews of Elephantine seem to have managed to date their documents accurately enough without receiving information on the state of the calendar from the capital of the satrapy, Hananyah must have expected his letter to be received before the first day of Nisan, when he directed his readers to "count fourteen days."

regulations regarding the feast of Unleavened Bread, and doubtless much else besides. He arrived in Egypt during the same year, probably toward the end of it, and took the first occasion to enjoin upon his coreligionists at Elephantine the proper observance of the feast, in accordance with the Jerusalem law, in time for the celebration of the first month of the 6th year of Darius II (began April 15, 418 B.C.). Strictly speaking, then, the Passover Papyrus will have been written in that fraction of the 5th year of Darius II which fell in the year 418 B.C. (January to April 14).

Before passing on to the contents of the other papyrus to which reference has been made, it is to be noted that in this Passover letter Hananyah does not speak of himself as עַבְדְּךָ or עַבְדְּכֶם, the form employed in addressing Yedonyah even by one of the latter's most prominent associates at the head of the community in Elephantine, but אֲחוּכֶם, *your brother*. Hananyah, it is evident even from Papyrus 6, is at least the equal of Yedonyah, and almost certainly his superior, in station.

We turn now to the text of Sachau Papyrus 11. I have succeeded in piecing out all the important lacunæ, with a result which differs considerably from the tentative and fragmentary translation published by Sachau. Sachau supposed this document to be a letter of warning against two men who were about to visit Elephantine. It is, on the contrary, a strong letter of recommendation.

In order to make evident at a glance my construction and interpretation of the Aramaic text, I vocalize after the analogy of the Biblical Aramaic, from which, except for the latter's mutations of vowel-quality and excess of Masoretic refinement, the pronunciation of these Egyptian Jews of the fifth century B.C. will not have differed materially. As before, suppletory letters are bracketed, and seriously mutilated ones overlined.

TEXT OF PAPYRUS 11

1 אֶל מָרְאַי יְדֹנְיָה אוּרִיָּה וְכָהֲנַיָּא זִי יָהוּ אֱלָהָא מַתָּן בַּר יֹשִׁבְיָה וְנֵרִיָּה בַר . 1 word .

2 עַבְדָּךְ מְעוּזִיָּה : שְׁלָם מָרְאַ[י . . . . about 5 words . . . . לְרַחֲמִן הֲווֹ קֳדָם

3 אֱלָהּ שְׁמַיָּא : פִּכְעֶת כְּזִי וידרנג רַב חַילָא מְטָא לאבוט אֲסַרְנִי עַלְדְּבַר אֶבֶנצְרִף ׀ זִי

4 הַשְׁכַּחוּ גְנִיב בְּיַד רָכְלַיָּא : עַל אַחֲרִן צחא וְחור עֲלִימֵי עֲנָנִי אֶשְׁתַּדַּרוּ עִם וידרנג

5 וְחרנופי בִטְלָל אֱלָהּ שְׁמַיָּא עַד שֵׁזְבוּנִי : כְּעַן הָא אָתַיִן תַּמָּה עֲלֵיכֹם : אַנְתֻּם חֲזוֹ עֲלֵיהֹם

6 מָה צְבוֹ : פִּמְלָה זִי צחא חור יִבְעֵה מִנְּכֹם אַנְתֻּם קֻמוּ קָבְלְהֹם כֵּן כְּזִי מִלָּה בְּאִישָׁה

7 לָא יְהַשְׁכְּחוּן לְכֹם : לְכֹם יַסִּירָא זִי חִנַּיִם הוּ עֲלַיִן מִן זִי חֲנַנְיָה בְּמִצְרַיִן עַד כְּעַן :

8 פִּמָה זִי תַעְבְּדוּן לְחור לְנַ[פְשְׁ]כֹם עָבְדִן [אַנְ]תֻּם : חור עֲלִים חֲנַנְיָה : אַנְתֻּם זַוִּלוּ מִן בַּתַּיִן

9 נִכְסִן לָקֳבֵל זִי יֶדְכֹּם : מָה חֲסַרְנָא וּמָה זִי לָא חֲסַרְן חַד לְכֹם : בְּזֵךְ שָׁלַח אֲנָה עֲלֵיכֹם הוּ

10 אֲמַר לִי שְׁלַח אִנֶּרֶת קַדְמְתָן : [הֵן] לוּ חֲסַרְן שִׂימָא שִׂים אַחֲרוֹהִי בְּבֵית עֲנָנִי : זִי תַעְבְּדוּן

11 לֵהּ לָא יִתְכַּסּוּן מִן עֲנָנִי :

12 אֶל מָרְאַי יְדֹנְיָה אוּרִיָּה וְכָהֲנַיָּא וִיהוּדָיֵא

TRANSLATION

1 *To my lords Yedonyah, Uriyah, and the priests of the God Yahu, Mattan bar Yoshibyah and Neriyah bar*
. [1 word] .
2 *Thy servant Ma'uziyah: The welfare of my lords* . . . [about 5 words] . . . . *Be ye favored before*
3 *the God of Heaven. For the rest: When Waidrang, the chief of the garrison, came to Abôt, he put me in prison*
on account of a certain precious stone which
4 *they found had been stolen by the traders. At last Seha and Hor, acquaintances of 'Anani, exerted themselves*
with Waidrang
5 *and Hornufi, under the protection of the God of Heaven, until they delivered me. Now behold, they are about*
to come thither to you. Do you attend to them,
6 *whatever their business may be. And whatever thing Seha or Hor may require of you, do you meet them in*
such fashion that a thing to blame
7 *they may not find in you. You know the affliction which, for no reason at all, has rested upon us since Hananyah*
came to Egypt until now.
8 *Whatever you do for Hor, you will be doing for your own selves. Hor is acquainted with Hananyah. Do you*
sell cheaply from our houses
9 *any goods that are at hand; whether we lose or whether we do not lose, never mind. This is why I am sending*
to you: he
10 *said to me, Send a letter ahead of us. Even if we should lose, a credit will be established because of him in the*
house of 'Anani. What you do
11 *for him will not be hidden from 'Anani.*

[Docket:] *To my lords Yedonyah, Uriyah, and the priests, and the Jews.*

Line 1. כהניא. The names which follow, Mattan bar Yoshibyah and Neriyah, are those of the priests. There were accordingly but two priests attached to the Yahwè temple at Elephantine.

יהו of the papyri should be pronounced *Yáhu*, not *Yaho*, as Sachau and others. *Yaho* cannot be derived from *Yahwè*. The alternative of *Yáhu* is not *Yaho*, but *Yô*. The *Yeho-* of Masoretic proper names is fictitious, the *o*-vowel having been reached only after the elision of the ה in compounds: *yahu—yau—yo* spelled *y(h)o*. So the name Jonathan in the living language was *Yahunatan*, *Yaunatan*, or *Yônatan* (יוֹנָתָן), but never *Yehonatan* (יְהוֹנָתָן). Nor, on the other hand, should we allow ourselves to be misled by the Masoretic pronunciation of such Lamed-He forms as הָוֹ, for this was of course pronounced *hwaw* by the Jews of Elephantine. Finally, Sachau's supposition (p. 10) that יהוה of the Mesha stone may be intended for יָהוֹה is entirely inadmissible; in the Mesha stone the ו is necessarily consonantal.

Line 2. עבדך. The singular suffix, if not a slip, probably has in mind Yedonyah alone, in spite of the plural address of the letter; for the others are not Ma'uziyah's superiors, as we shall see.

מעוזיה. On the identity of the writer see below, pp. 27 ff.

Line 3. פ in פכעת is the Arabic *fa;* it occurs again in lines 6 and 8, and in Sachau Papyrus 12 (not indexed); also in the Zenjirli, Nabatean, and Palmyrene inscriptions.

וידרנג, the commander of the garrison at Elephantine, effects the arrest at Abydos not necessarily because his military jurisdiction extended to that city, but probably because Ma'uziyah, as a member of the "army of occupation," was not subject to the criminal jurisdiction of the local magistracy. —It would be well if in our ignorance of the correct pronunciation of the name וידרנג, the euphonious *Waidrang* could be conventionally adhered to.

עלדבר אבנצרף ו, not "wegen eines Edelsteins, eines einzigen," as Sachau; the text is merely shorthand for אבנצרף חד; cf. איש חד *a certain man*, Sachau Papyrus 62, obv., col. 2, line 6.

Line 4. השכחו גניב ביד רכליא. Sachau: "den man gefunden hat als gestohlen (gestohlenes Gut) in der Hand (im Besitz) von Kaufleuten." If that were the meaning, ביד רכליא would follow השכחו. Besides, if the stone was actually recovered from the merchants, the officials would have had little difficulty in tracing the thief. רכליא are not the local shopkeepers, but the visiting traders, to which class Ma'uziyah belonged. The stone may well have been purloined while being exhibited, together with other jewels, to a company of such traders, without leaving any trace of the individual thief. On גניב, passive participle with the force of the pluperfect, cf. Nöldeke, § 278 B. For ביד of the agent cf. Syriac ܒܝܕ.

על אחרן. Sachau can make nothing of this. The phrase occurs also in Sachau Papyrus 52, col. 1, line 5: על אחרן יזכרני, *at last he will remember me;* and col. 2, line 1: עד זי על אחרן *until at last.* Lidzbarski (*l.c.*, col. 2978) renders it correctly enough *schliesslich*, but would read על אתרן in all three passages. The letter ח, however, is perfectly distinct and unmistakable in every case. The fact is, we have here the phrase which has hitherto baffled the efforts and ingenuity of the commentators on the Aramaic text of Dan. 4 5. The spelling אחרין of Dan. 4 5 proves, if any proof were needed, that the word has nothing to do with אָחָרָן *another;* the transmitters could never have inserted that י, for the Kethib is at cross purposes with the Masoretic tradition, which could make nothing of it, and with the Qeri, which demands the spelling אחרן. On the other hand, the uniform spelling of the papyri, על אחרן, proves that the pointings suggested for Dan. 4 5 by Marti (*Bibl.-aram. Grammatik*, §§ 87*c*, 94*b*), אָחָרִין or אָחֳרִין, as adverb in the one case and singular noun in the other, are alike impossible, for either form would be spelled אחרין in the papyri. For other counsels of despair, see the commentaries of Bevan and Kraetzschmar. We must accordingly point in harmony with both the Kethib of Dan. 4 5 and the spelling of the papyri, אֲחֳרִין, absolute plural corresponding to the construct אֲחֳרֵי *after*,

and meaning (in the plural) *the end*;[26] compare the Hebrew אַחֲרִי החנית (2 Sam. 2 23), which is not *the hinder end of the spear*, but merely *the end of the spear*, a rhetorical expression analogous to פי חרב *the mouth (edge) of the sword*. In Dan. 4 5 accordingly we must read ועל אַחֲרִין *and at last;* the על was corrupted to עד as a consequence of the erroneous interpretation "until *another*."

עלימי *acquainted with*, passive participle with reciprocal sense, cf. Nöldeke, § 280; not *servants of* ʿ*Anani*, as Sachau, which is impossible in this context. Seha and Hor are quite too important and influential to be anybody's "boys." Besides, the ordinary interpretation cannot be reconciled with line 8, where Hor is described as the עלים of Hananyah. Sachau concludes that two different persons of the name Hor are mentioned in the papyrus. But even that bold remedy does not meet the substantial objection first mentioned. We must connect with עַלַם *to know*, not with غُلَام, עֶלֶמָא, *youth*, *servant*. Cf. Hebrew ידוע, and the expression רחים אלהן *pious*, Sachau Papyrus 55, line 5 (Sachau transcribes erroneously רחימן).

ענני is without doubt the ʿAnani alluded to in line 19 of the petition to Bagoas, Sachau Papyrus 1, where Ostanes is singled out for special mention among the nobles of Jerusalem to whom previous appeals had been directed: "Ostanes, the brother of ʿAnani" can only mean that the writers are acquainted with ʿAnani in Egypt and are not acquainted with Ostanes in Jerusalem. Very probably also, this ʿAnani is identical with the official scribe or secretary of the chancellerie of Arsames, whom we meet in an original decree of the governor which has come down to us, Sachau Papyrus 8. This document is signed first in the hand which engrossed the body of it: ענני ספרא ʿ*Anani the Scribe;* then follows in the same elegant hand the title בעל טעם *Master of decrees*,

[26] This use of the indeterminate plural in an abstract sense, with a value approaching that of our determinate singular, which occurs in the case of the Aramaic אלהן as in that of the Hebrew אלהים, has not received sufficient recognition. In English I may say, "Grapes are a delicious fruit," or, "The grape is a delicious fruit"; but I may not say, "The grapes are a delicious fruit."

or *Chancellor*, introducing the signature of this last official, which was appended in another hand: נבוּעקב כתב *Nebo'aqab has signed.* So, against Sachau, pp. 48 f., and Ed. Meyer, *l.c.*, p 1036; compare נפשה [דניה] יר כתב מחסיה בר, *Mahseyah bar Yedonyah has signed in person*, written in a handwriting distinct from that of the notary, Sayce-Cowley E, lines 17 f. The word ספרא which follows נבועקב in the fragment of the docket of Papyrus 8, has been robbed of its context, and may, for all we know, be *document*, and not *scribe*. The בעל טעם was, as in Ezra 4, the higher official of the two, and in this case an Aramean. Incidentally, this document shows us what the Passover Papyrus would have looked like, had it been even remotely connected with a royal rescript. Not merely would it have been officially countersigned, but the names of the superscription would be reversed, and the papyrus would begin מן חנניה על ידניה, if not indeed מן ארשם על ידניה, in the name of the governor. — For the rest, there is nothing in our Papyrus 11 to indicate that 'Anani was himself a resident of Abydos, where Ma'uziyah's misadventure occurred; on the contrary, had 'Anani been at Abydos, the services of Seha and Hor would not have been required.

Line 5. חרנופי was either the local Egyptian magistrate at Abydos or the plaintiff in the case.

חוו עליהם, not *be on your guard against them*, as Sachau; the expression occurs in the sense of solicitous attention in Sachau Papyrus 13, line 6: חוי על עלימיא וביתי כוי תעבד לביתך *care for the young people and my house as thou wouldst do for thine own house;* also in the ostrakon published by Sayce, mentioned above, p. 13, note 19: חוי על ינקיא עד נאתה, *care for the children until we come.*

Line 6. חור was omitted at first, and later written in over the line; hence יבעה in the singular.

קמו קבלהם כן *let your attitude to them be such;* כן *so*, modifying קמו.

Line 7. Second לכם, literally *you have = there is.* I have rendered *you know.*

יסירא, *punishment.* The reading of this word, which

Sachau gives up altogether, is quite certain; the only letter that is very seriously mutilated is the ר. Point after Marti, § 82, note 2.

חנים, Hebraism = חִנָּם of the Old Testament; adverb, *gratuitously*. For the form חִנִּים as a possible alternative of חִנָּם compare Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 88 *c*. Sachau suggests the god-name Ḫnum = Ḫnub, the Egyptian god of Elephantine; but (1) the third letter, though mutilated, is distinctly a י and not a ו, and (2) a proper name is out of place before the enclitic which follows.

הו, enclitic emphasizing the preceding word; see Nöldeke, § 221.

Line 8. לחור. The writer appears to have started by writing לחנ (for Hananyah), and then corrected to לחור.

לנפשכם עבדן. The נ in both words is unmistakable, though Sachau omits the one and reads the other ו; I think there can be no question as to the letters I have supplied.

עלים. See above on line 4.

זולו. The Pe'al is *to be cheap*. The context requires the Pa'il; cf. the Aph'el, "billig verkaufen" (Dalman).

בתין. The suffix refers to writer and readers combined; Ma'uziyah's goods at Elephantine are included.

Line 9. מה חסרנא", literally, *what we may have lost or what we may not have lost, be alike to you*. Sachau transcribes מה וי חסרן ומה זי לא חסרן. The characters between the first מה and לא are mutilated or blurred, but enough of them is visible to make certain that the papyrus had no וי in the first clause and that a letter followed the נ of the first חסרנ. In any case, the word cannot be the plural participle, referring to Seha and Hor, as Sachau and Lidzbarski (*l.c.*, col. 2980). The form and reference must be the same as in line 10, where חסרן cannot be construed as the participle or as referring to the visitors, only one of whom is there being spoken of; note the suffixes in אחרוהי (line 10), לה (line 11). On the idiom and the tense, cf. Nöldeke, § 258, and מה צבו in line 6 above.

Line 10. הן לו occurs Sachau Papyrus 53, line 3. On its use with the perfect in hypothetical sentences, cf. Nöldeke, §§ 259, 375.

שימא. The א (for ה?) was omitted at the first writing, and inserted above the line.

שים. On the use of the participle for future time in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, see Nöldeke, § 271. שימא שים, literally, *a treasure will be laid up.* I take this to be intended figuratively: "ʿAnani will be put under obligation to us." Compare the Syriac versions of Matth. 6 19-20, where identically the same language is employed! Evidently the Syriac reproduced the original Aramaic logion of Jesus, and that in turn played upon an old Aramaic metaphor.

אחרוהי, *after him*, that is, *after his visit.*

בבית ענני must not be taken too literally; בבית = *apud — chez ʿAnani.*

Maʿuziyah, the author of the above letter, was one of the most prosperous and well-educated members of the Jewish community at Elephantine, and second in importance only to Yedonyah. When he wrote, he was temporarily absent from home, at Abydos. This appears by comparing his letter, addressed to Yedonyah and Uriyah as the chief laymen in the community, with Sachau Papyrus 10, where a Jew in difficulties elsewhere appeals for aid to the Jews of Elephantine and addresses his appeal to "Yedonyah, Maʿuziyah, Uriyah, and the garrison."

Again, this Maʿuziyah appears in Sachau Papyrus 5 as one of the five prominent Jews dispatching an official petition (perhaps to the Persian governor in Egypt, before appealing to outsiders) for permission to rebuild the temple which has been destroyed. The petition must therefore be dated after 410 B.C., though probably before 407. The five men indicting it are: Yedonyah bar Gem(aryah), Maʿuzi bar Natan, Shemaʿyah bar Haggai, Hoshe' bar Yatom, and Hoshe' bar Natun. This Maʿuzi, second again to Yedonyah, is certainly identical with our Maʿuziyah, and here his surname is given as *bar Natan.*[27]

[27] In Sachau's transcription of Papyrus 11, Maʿuziyah's letter to Yedonyah, there appears a memorandum scribbled by the recipients on the outside of the papyrus, which Sachau reads מעזיה בר צחא . . . ו. The reading of the last word alone is indicated as uncertain. Unfortunately, hardly a trace of

Now we have several documents from Elephantine professedly written by the hand of this same Maʿuziyah bar Natan:

(*a*) Sayce-Cowley H, an act of release dated in the 4th year of Darius (420/419 B.C.), and written by the hand of Maʿuziyah bar Natan, as notary.

(*b*) Sayce-Cowley J, a quit-claim deed dated in the 8th year of Darius (416/415 B.C.), and written by the hand of Maʿuziyah bar Natan, as notary.

(*c*) Sachau Papyrus 34, a deed of gift of which the date has been lost, but in which the notary's name is given with even more precision as *Maʿuziyah bar Natan bar ʿAnanyah*.[28]

Papyrus 11, Maʿuziyah's letter from Abydos, which is in the same handwriting as that of the three documents just mentioned, was written some time after 419 B.C. (when Hananyah came to Egypt), but before 410 B.C. (when the temple was destroyed), and while Hananyah was still in the country. Note the formal mention of the priests of the temple in the address. Besides, it is not likely that that outrage would have been committed while Hananyah was in Egypt. He doubtless returned to the king long before 410 B.C. The letter should therefore be placed some three or four years after 419 B.C.

Still other papyri in these finds introduce us to the father of our Maʿuziyah on the one hand, and to his children on the other.

In Sayce-Cowley C and D, two deeds of the 6th year of Artaxerxes (459/458 B.C.), Maʿuziyah's father, Natan bar ʿAnani, appears as a witness. In Sachau Papyrus 28, a

this legend can be discerned in the photographic reproduction. But I have no hesitation in affirming that an indorsement of this sort would not have set forth Maʿuziyah's surname, and that what was set down was זי כתב or זי שלח מעוזיה על צחא, *Maʿuziyah's letter about Seha*.

[28] Sachau calls attention to the similarity of the handwriting in this papyrus to that of the mutilated, but originally superior, second copy of the petition to Bagoas (Papyrus 2), and concludes that they belong to the same period. They do, as a matter of fact, belong to the same period, but it is the *kalams* that are similar, not the handwritings. Papyrus 2 was very probably written by the hand which penned the memorandum Papyrus 3, in which case it will be the personal copy of the emissary of the Jews of Elephantine to Bagoas.

document of the 9th year of Artaxerxes (456/455 B.C.), Natan bar ʿAnani is the notary, as also in Sayce-Cowley E, of the 19th year of Artaxerxes (446/445 B.C.), and still again in Sayce-Cowley G, of the 25th year of Artaxerxes (440/439 B.C.).

The sequence yielded by these documents — the father, Natan bar ʿAnani, appearing as an adult witness in the 6th year of Artaxerxes, and the son, Maʿuziyah bar Natan bar ʿAnani, acting as one of the leaders of the community after the 14th year of Darius — affords us more direct evidence than any which has thus far been adduced, that the Darius of the days of Yedonyah bar Gemaryah and of the Elephantine temple outrage was Darius II.

On the other hand, in the list of subscribers to the fund collected for the God Yahu (Sachau Papyrus 18), we find a brother of Maʿuziyah, Ahyo bar Natan bar ʿAnani, and one of his sons, ʿAnani bar Maʿuzi, with perhaps another, Meshullam bar Maʿuzi. Under the circumstances it is permissible to assume that this list, which is dated 5th year, but without the name of any king, is to be assigned to the 5th year after the expulsion of the Persians, which occurred about 404 B.C. Perhaps no king is mentioned because Amyrtæus had not yet succeeded in establishing himself firmly upon the throne of the Pharaohs. In that case, this great collection may well represent the money employed for the rebuilding of the temple of Yahwè, some seven or eight years after the petition to Bagoas.

Finally, a Natan bar Maʿuziyah, who appears in an undated papyrus (Sachau 20), is certainly the son of our Maʿuziyah bar Natan.

I have called attention to the demonstrable prosperity, education, and importance of this Maʿuziyah bar Natan, because of the deferential, almost obsequious tone in which his letter to Yedonyah refers to the person of Hananyah. It is clear that the latter was one to whose favor both he and Yedonyah earnestly aspired. And though they recognized him as the cause, or at least the occasion of their embarrassment, there was no thought of resentment or oppo-

sition, but only of continued compliance with his will and ministering to his good pleasure. I think I detect a slight difference of attitude even from that exhibited toward 'Anani, the secretary of the Persian government. From 'Anani, Ma'uziyah expects a *quid pro quo* of a commercial kind; he will return their favors in due season. Of Hananyah nothing so definite seems to be expected. It is the bare favor of an exalted personage that is involved, one who can easily do harm if he will. Moreover, Hananyah is "in Egypt" — obviously at the seat of government, and a national figure. And, as already pointed out, he is a foreign Jew, who has but recently come into the country. It can no longer be disputed that the interpretation I gave of line 3 of the Passover Papyrus is correct. It was Hananyah himself who was *sent* from Darius to Arsames, and the Passover was his private concern.

One is tempted to speculate as to the character of the tantalizing "difficulty" which Hananyah's presence in Egypt had brought upon his coreligionists at Elephantine. Clearly it was of a kind that adverse reports by Seha and Hor concerning them might help to augment. Did Hananyah bring with him a religious exclusiveness and Levitical zeal which interfered with their traditional worship, disturbed the even tenor of their pagan ways, and put an end for the time being to their cordial relations with their neighbors? Did he find them Judeans, and try to make them Jews?

Sachau has called attention to the identity in name of this Persian official and the brother of Nehemiah, Hanani = Hananyah, upon whose moving report of conditions in Jerusalem, Nehemiah was impelled to undertake his work of restoration. Hananyah was not an uncommon name, to be sure. But Jews occupying exalted positions at the Persian court cannot have been so very numerous at any time; and such Jews bearing the name of Hananyah were doubtless fewer still. It is not at all unlikely that the Egyptian papyri have introduced us once more to the brother of Nehemiah. If this be the same man, the date of Nehemiah is settled beyond all controversy, as of Artaxerxes I, not II. For we

can well suppose that Hananyah had traveled from Jerusalem to Susa, when a very young man at the Persian court, twenty-five years before he was appointed ambassador to Arsames; whereas it is well-nigh impossible to assume that he did so thirty-six years after he had attained to that dignity, and found his brother Nehemiah in the prime of life.

In any event, we have as little reason for connecting Darius II with the religious motives of Hananyah, as we have for identifying Artaxerxes with those of Nehemiah. And the Passover Papyrus gives us a picture, not of the Persian Empire espousing the cause of Yahwè and busying itself with the details of "Ezra's" ceremonial law, but of the new-born Judaism in Jerusalem reaching out to reform and to control the half-heathen Judeans of the Diaspora.

In conclusion, I venture to add a few words regarding the view which has been energetically revived since the discovery of the Elephantine papyri, and recently defended by Torrey,[29] to the effect that Judaism offered, on principle, no opposition to the establishment of sacrificial temples *ad libitum* outside of Palestine. Against that view it must be urged that not only do we actually know of but one such temple in the days when Judaism had come into its own, but the form of the Mishnic reference[30] to the temple of Leontopolis clearly shows that the latter was in fact the only one in existence in those days. The evidence of the well-informed priest Josephus is distinctly to the same effect, and incidentally contradicts the above-mentioned hypothesis as to the general attitude of Judaism on the theoretical question. Josephus manifestly had never heard of the "foreign soil" justification of the temple of Onias; which makes it hard to believe that it was anywhere entertained. In the next place, it must be remembered that the establishment of that single foreign temple was due not to religious necessities, but, like that of the Samaritans, to personal ambition, or at all events to personal vicissitudes. Circumstances rendered it innocuous to

[29] *Ezra Studies*, pp. 315 ff.
[30] Menahoth, 13 10.

the centralizing spirit of Judaism, and it was first tolerated and then grudgingly recognized. This much it owed to the accident of its location outside of Palestine — and outside of Alexandria. A richly endowed Aaronic monastery rather than a rival metropolitan see, it was not forced, in self-defense, to question the primacy or the legitimacy of the parent sanctuary at Jerusalem. But all this lies aside from the main point, which is, that the developed Jewish system, in contrast to the pre-Deuteronomic religion — which latter we must not make the mistake of supposing ceased to exist after 621 B.C. — had no need of more than one temple, any more than it had need of more than one tabernacle. It was not the accessibility or the location of the sanctuary, but the unity of the "congregation" and the vicariousness of the ritual that constituted the characteristic note of the priestly law. And if, as Wilrich maintains,[31] the temple of Onias was founded by an émigré High Priest at a time when Jerusalem was in the hands of the heathen and inaccessible, the act was more at variance with the somewhat antiquated burden of Deuteronomy than with the spirit of the Levitical law. In any case, it is impossible to imagine a temple being founded outside of Palestine under the auspices and with the approval of the Jerusalem priesthood, merely to meet the religious needs of the Diaspora.

On the other hand, there may well have been other Yahwè temples besides that of Elephantine, founded by the earliest emigrants from Judea, which were *survivals of pre-Deuteronomic Yahwism*. These the Jews of Jerusalem will have countenanced in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., for much the same reasons that led their successors to countenance the temple of Leontopolis. It was a choice between easy, almost insensible compromise and irreparable schism. Such temples were theoretically illegitimate, but the question of their legitimacy was never a pressing one. What is more important, they were fundamentally incompatible and practically superfluous. It was not necessary to strangle them; they died a

[31] *Juden und Griechen*, pp. 126 ff.

natural death with the spread of the new Judaism, the Synagogue, and the Mosaic law. When once the earliest settlers in Egypt learned to believe that the sacrifices at Jerusalem availed for all Palestine, they were quite content to have them avail for all Egypt too, and taxed themselves accordingly. The temple of Leontopolis remains an accident. And if there were any other sacrificial cults of Yahwè in out of the way corners of the earth at the beginning of the Christian era, they certainly lacked the "Aaronic" priesthood and were distinctly irregular. The ceremonial law of Judaism paradoxically carried with it the death sentence of sacrifice as an essential of Jewish religious life.

Beelzebul

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THE name Beelzebul, as is well known, occurs in the Synoptic Gospels, and is there applied to the chief of the demons. In the following pages its meaning will be discussed and its use. First, the question of the correct form of the word will be considered, and the contexts in which the name occurs examined. Then I propose to show that in New Testament times the word *zebul* was used specifically of heaven, and that, inasmuch as in each of the important non-Jewish religions of the period one god held a preëminent place, and he a sky-god, and a foreign god was considered by the Jews to be a demon, the name Beelzebul —*i.e.* Lord of Heaven— was properly applied to the chief of the demons.

The word Beelzebul, with variants, is found in Mt. 10 25 12 24. 27, Mk. 3 22, Lk. 11 15. 18. 19. Our first concern is to satisfy ourselves about the actual form of the word. The evidence[1] that I submit will show that the reading βεελζεβούλ is supported by the most important witnesses, and that the deviations from that reading are entirely explicable.

The Greek Mss. almost without exception read βεελζεβούλ.[2]

[1] Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1869; Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, 1889 ff.; Pusey and Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium . . . simplex syrorum versionem*, 1901; Lewis, *Old Syriac Gospels*, 1910; Ciasca, *De Tatiani Diatessaron Arabice Versione*, 1883; Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis*, 1868; Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 1904; Robinson, "Ephraim's Citations from the Diatessaron," in J. H. Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*, 1894.

[2] A few read βελζεβούλ; B ℵ (except Mk. 3 22) βεελζεβούλ. These variants are not important for our purpose; with the latter might be compared *beizebul* in g^1 and בעמלקרת (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, no. 54, l. 1 f.), בעשמם (*Corpus Inscrip. Sem.*, i. 1. 139, 1), עחנא[ב] (*CIS*, i. 2. 869, 3), בעשמין (*CIS*, ii. 1. 163 C), בעש[מן] (*CIS*, ii. 1. 176).

This is supported by most of the Old Latin Mss. (*a, f, ff*[1], *q; k, d, h* read *beelzebul; b, velz.*), by some of the Syriac versions, and by the Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, Coptic (*belz.*), and others. The Vulgate reads *beelzebub*. This reading has influenced later scribes, with the result that it has been introduced into a few of the Mss. of the Old Latin; but it causes no difficulty, for Jerome has explained that the word means "habens muscas, aut devorans muscas, aut vir muscarum," and that on that account it is to be read *beelzebub*, and not *beelzebul*.[3] The Peshitta with the Sinaitic and the Cureton Syriac support the reading *beelzebub;* while *syr*[p] (Tischendorf), the Commentary of Ephraim on the Diatessaron, and the Diatessaron in Arabic[4] support *beelzebul*.[5] This evidence suggests that the Diatessaron read *beelzebul*.[6] It is demonstrable that the Syriac version has been influenced in other places by the Old Testament Peshitta[7]; in the light of what we know concerning the reading of the Vulgate that is most probably the case here. Some fragments of homilies in Syriac[8] and a few Latin Mss. read *beelzebud*. An entirely adequate explanation of this is that it is due to a corruption originating in a Greek uncial Ms. (Δ for Λ).

The passages of the New Testament that bear on the question of Beelzebul are Mt. 9 34, 10 24 f., 12 24-28, Mk. 3 22-26, Lk. 11 15-20. Jesus had been exorcising demons; opponents of his of the Pharisaic party offered an explanation of the phenomenon. They said that Jesus had Beelzebul, and that through him, the chief of the demons, he was working his wonders. Jesus, to show the weakness of the Pharisaic

[3] *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis — de Joanne, s.v.* 'Beelzebub'; cf. also his Commentary on Matt. 10 25.

[4] Codex Fuldensis follows in general the order of the Diatessaron, but gives the text in accordance with the Vulgate.

[5] Gwilliam records a reading on the margin of a Jacobite Ms. of the twelfth or thirteenth century, *B"el d'vuv*. This is probably nothing but a textual error; it might be due to the Syriac word *debâbâ* = fly, or possibly (?) to דבבא = enmity, as an interpretation (see below, p. 51 f.).

[6] So Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ii. p. 205.

[7] Burkitt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 204, 289, *et al.*

[8] *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. i. pt. ix. p. 73.

explanation, pointed out what befalls a kingdom, or a city, or a house, that is divided against itself. In like manner, he said, "if Satan hath risen up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand." "If I by Beelzebul," he retorted, "cast out demons, by whom do your people cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges. But if I by the Spirit of God cast out demons, then the kingdom of God is come upon you." At another time he said to his disciples: "A disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the *master of the house* Beelzebul, how much more them of his household!"

In seeking a satisfactory explanation of the name Beelzebul, it is most natural to consider that it is a real name that has been applied to and is descriptive of the chief of the demons. Our first care is the word *zebul*, and we shall find that in addition to its ordinary meaning 'dwelling,' it was used, in the period with which we are concerned, specifically of the *dwelling of God*, both of the temple in Jerusalem and of heaven.

In Rosh ha-Shanah 17 *a* we read: שפשטו ידיהם בזבול שנאמר מזבול לו ואין זבול אלא בית המקדש שנאמר בנה בניתי בית זבול לך; . . . "because they stretched their hands out against the *zebul*, for it is written מזבול לו (Ps. 49 15; cf. Rashi and Ibn Ezra); and there is no *zebul* except the Temple, for it is written: I have built thee a *bêth zebul*" (1 Ki. 8 13). This proves conclusively that זבול was used by itself of the temple in Jerusalem. Similar passages found in Jer. Berachoth, ix. 1 (Zitomir ed., fol. 56 *b*), Ruth R. קטן וגדול (Warsaw ed., 1725, p. 30 *b*), and Tosefta Sanhedrin 13 5 (ed. Zuckermandel 434 26 f.).

In the Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, c. 37, in a passage which is attributed to Rabbi Meir, a pupil of Akiba, a list of the seven heavens is given: מכון, מעון, זבול, שחקים, רקיע, וילון, and ערבות. In Ḥagigah 12 *b* the list of the seven is given with a description of each. Zebul is that one in which are situated Jerusalem and the temple and the altar; beside the altar the great prince Michael stands and offers sacrifice.

The other six heavens are similarly described, and the descriptions are accounted for by texts. וילון (Latin, *velum*) is said to be the דק of Is. 40 22; רקיע is derived from Gn. 1 17; שחקים comes from Ps. 78 23, where it is parallel to שמים; מעון is from Dt. 26 15; מכון from 1 Ki. 8 39; ערבות is deduced from the parallelism of Ps. 68 5 and Dt. 33 26.[9]

The two passages quoted in connection with *zebul* are 1 Ki. 8 13 and Is. 63 15:

יהוה אמר לשכן בערפל בנה בניתי בית זבל לך
מכון לשבתך עולמים

and

הבט משמים וראה [10]מזבל קדשך ותפארתך

These show that by *zebul* was understood both the temple and heaven. They also show whence this particular usage was ultimately derived. There are two other passages that have been influential in this direction — Hab. 3 11 and Ps. 49 15:

שמש ירח עמד זבלה

and

וצורם לבלות שאול מזבל לו

Ibn Ezra's comment on the first of these passages is: כל אחד מהם עמד זבולו; I take it the poet meant to say: the moon "stands," *i.e.* ceases to shine[11] in the *zebul*.[12] שמש is prob-

[9] There is also in the same place mention of a discussion whether there were two or seven heavens; Rabbi Jehudah concluded from Dt. 10 14 that there were only two, while ר"ל (who Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. ii (1890), p. 65, n. 3, thinks was Simon b. Lakish, or perhaps Rabbi Levi) held that there were seven. Those who held to the seven differed among themselves as to their contents. The Slavonic Secrets of Enoch, c. 3 ff., and the Testament of Levi, c. 3, both give descriptive lists differing from each other and from the Talmudic list.

[10] This can only be translated: "from thy holy and glorious 'zebul,'" whatever 'zebul' is. The ordinary translation, "from the dwelling of thy holiness and glory," must mean from the dwelling place of thy holiness, etc., *i.e.* thy holy dwelling.

[11] Cf. Jonah 1 15, Josh. 10 13.

[12] Alongside of זבלה I should like to place מענה in the following passage from Deut. 33 26 f.: אין כאל ישרון רכב שמים בעזרך ובגאותו שחקים מענה אלהי קדם ומתחת זרעת עולם: There is none like the God of Jeshurun, Who rideth through the heavens to thy help, And in his majesty through the skies. In heaven is the God of old, But underneath are the everlasting arms.

ably to be taken with the preceding verb. The other passage has presented difficulty to commentators. Our chief interest is to know how the later Jews understood it, and this is clear. The Targum, followed by Rashi, has taken מזבל לו to mean 'because they stretched out their hands against the temple to destroy it.' This interpretation is also found in the Talmud and the Tosefta,[13] and I think in all probability it is correct, the last few words being an annotation. We may note in passing that Rabbi Jonah, quoted by Ihn Ezra, understood *zebul* in this passage as heaven, for he says, "the judgment of heaven is on every one."

I took it for granted above that the ordinary meaning of *zebul* was dwelling, and of this there is little doubt. That is the meaning given by Abu'l-Walîd and Ḳimḥi in their dictionaries. Rashi has understood it so on Gn. 30 20, 2 Ch. 6 2, Hab. 3 11, Ps. 49 15; Ibn Ezra on Gn. 30 20, Is. 63 15, Ps. 49 15; likewise the Targum on Gn. 30 20, Is. 63 15, Hab. 3 11, Ps. 49 15. This meaning is quite suitable in 1 Ki. 8 13 and Gn. 30 20. In the one case it is a more or less poetic expression, for which Rashi (on 2 Ch. 6 2) gives the prosaic מדור. One might compare Ps. 26 8,

יהוה אהבתי מעון ביתך
ומקום משכן כבודך

with 1 Ki. 8 13,

בנה בניתי בית זבל לך
מכון לשבתך עולמים

In the other case it is probable that an etymology has been forced for the occasion from a denominative verb. There is no reason to suppose that the Greek translators were better acquainted with peculiar Hebrew words than the later Jewish commentators. The Greek of Gn. 30 20 (*αἱρετιεῖ*) may well be nothing more than a good guess or a free translation.[14]

[13] Rosh ha-Shanah, 17 *a*. T. Sanhedrin, 13 5 (ed. Zuckermandel, 434. 26 f.).

[14] The theory of Guyard (*Journal Asiatique*, vii. 12, p. 220 ff.), which was accepted by Fried. Delitzsch (*Heb. Lang.*, p. 38) and Franz Delitzsch (*Comm. on Genesis*, on 30 20) that the root idea of the word is "height" does not carry conviction, nor has it won assent. Cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xv.

This makes it clear that *zebul* was understood specifically of the dwelling of God, whether that was thought of as the temple on earth or the heavens; in later ages when the temple had long disappeared it was still used of heaven. The poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era frequently use the word in this way. The Spanish poet, Shelomo ibn Gabirol (d. *c.* 1058), wrote as follows (44. 1 f.)[15]:

שַׁחַק וְכָל־הֲמוֹן זְבוּל לְאֵל מְסִלּוֹתָם יְרֹמּוּן
תֵּבֵל וְיִשְׁבֵי בָהּ לְמוּל יוֹצְרָם פְּנֵיהֶם הֵם יְשִׁימוּן

Baḥya ibn Peḳūdā (first half of 11th cent.) has used the word in the same way (54. 5):

הֲמוֹן מַיִם וְשָׁמַיִם וְאֶרֶץ יָקָר יָרַח וְאוֹר עָמַד וְבָלָה

Ibn Ezra (d. 1167) bears the same testimony (135. 27):

בְּרֵאשִׁית זְבֻל קָרָא וְאֶרֶץ עָמְדָה מְהֻרָה

and again (132. 20 f.):

וּמִמְּרוֹמוֹ יִתֵּן קוֹלוֹ שָׁדַף בְּכֵם וְבָלוֹ

One more example may be cited, this from Yosef ibn Zebara (beginning of 13th cent.) (148. 26):

פְּתוּכֵי אֵשׁ טָמִים בְּשֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם בְּרוּם זְבֻלָךְ

There is little reason for thinking that the emphasis was placed much differently in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, or that at that time the temple was immediately associated with the idea of 'dwelling of God.' Of course a prophet might say:

> Yahwe is in his holy temple,
> Let all the earth keep silence before him (Hab. 2 20),

and the suppliant at the Jerusalem temple might cry:

> He heard my voice in his temple,
> And my cry came into his ears (Ps. 18 7).

729; and Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1885 a, p. 299; 1887 a, p. 148. The Greek translation of Gn. 30 20 which is entirely explicable, and the Assyrian usage, which seems still to be uncertain, are not sufficient grounds for this conclusion.

[15] These examples are taken from Brody u. Albrecht, *Neuhebräische Dichterschule*, 1905. The figures give the number of the poem and the line.

Isaiah, in vision, had seen the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty, and his train filled the temple — but it was the heavenly temple (Is. 6 1). Jeremiah warned his people against worshiping the temple, against crying: "the Temple of Yahwe, the Temple of Yahwe, the Temple of Yahwe are these" (7 4). And this deeper note is frequent; 586 succeeded 701:

> Yahwe is in his holy temple,
> Yahwe — his throne is in the heavens (Ps. 11 4).

"Doth God really dwell on earth? Behold the heavens and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less the house that I have built!" (1 Ki. 8 27 = 2 Ch. 6 18). "Who is able to build him a house, seeing the heavens and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him?" (2 Ch. 2 6). "Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool, what kind of house will ye build unto me? Or what kind of a resting place?" (Is. 66 1).

The New Testament presents the same picture. Men went in and out of the temple; there the teachers taught, the people worshiped. But "the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet. The heaven is my throne, and the earth the footstool of my feet" (Acts 7 48 f.). "The God that made the world and all things therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands" (Acts 17 24). "And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple thereof" (Rev. 21 22). Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. This explains why when the temple disappeared nothing happened.

I have presented facts to show that *zebul* means 'dwelling,' and *par excellence* the dwelling of God — heaven; but that does not complete the discussion of the word. There are a considerable number of traces of its use as the name of a god. These are found in very different places and at very different times.

An officer of Abimelech bore the name זְבֻל (Ju. 9 28. 30. 36. 38. 41). "When a personal or geographical name is a single

noun, it may be the name of a divinity."[16] A name, at the basis of which is our word *zebul*, was given to one of the Israelite tribes; this was written זבלון, זבולן, and once זבולון in the Hebrew text, and is probably to be pronounced זְבֻלֹן. The Greek version, which is our oldest authority for the pronunciation of the word, represented it by *Σαβουλών*; inasmuch as it distinguishes ון and ין this is of considerable importance. The adjective formed from זבלון is זבולני (Jn. 12 11. 12, Nu. 26 27). If Zebulon is the correct pronunciation, it is probably a diminutive like עגלון, עפרון, אישון, נחשון, עברון (cf. 'Obaid) and שמשון (cf. Sumais).[17] The name of the wife of Ahab, whom we know as Jezebel, is written in the Hebrew text איזבל. The traditional pronunciation is in all probability due to the fact that in it was recognized the word זֶבֶל (dung); but there is little doubt that that part of the name is a perversion of our *zebul*, and it may be that the whole word is the equivalent of אַבִיזְבֶל, as some have thought.[18] We do find איעזר Nu. 26 30 = אביעזר Ju. 6 34 *et al.*, and there we do not have to think of textual corruption. I should then compare it with such names as אחימלך, אבימלך, אחיהו, אביהו, אביבעל, אביאל, and אחימלך. In an inscription of the fourth century B.C. from Kition, mention is made of a woman whose name is שמזבל.[19] With this might be compared one in which Astarte is called שם בעל.[20] Another inscription[21] contains a name of which זבל is an element; it has been transliterated as follows: קבר בעל|אזבל אשו|ת אור בע|ל בן מקם. The photographic reproduction is anything but clear, but clear enough to show that the copy is not an exact one. From what can be seen of the

[16] H. P. Smith in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, i. p. 49.

[17] See Nöldeke, *Ency. Biblica*, "Names," § 77.

[18] Ewald, *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Sprache*, ed. 7, 1863, iii. § 273, n. 1; cf. Fürst, *Handwörterbuch*, 1857, *s.v.* איזבל. The latter interprets it (*s.v.* זבול) Herr der Himmelsburg = בי מעון = בי שמים.

[19] Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 21. 4; cf. Nöldeke, *Ency. Biblica*, "Names," § 39.

[20] Cooke, *op. cit.*, 5. 18.

[21] *CIS*, no. 158.

א of בעלאובל it cannot be said to resemble very closely the other two א's in the same inscription; it resembles the ת of אשת just as closely, and that reading would be explicable.[22] A proper name, Zabullus, finally, is found on an altar dedicated to the Dii Manes in the walls of an old mosque at Tremesen.[23] After this accumulation of evidence there can be little doubt that Zebul was also a name applied to a god.

For all that has been said regarding the usage of זבול, there is a complete parallel in מעון. This word is used of a lair of jackals (Jer. 9 10, 10 22, 49 33, 51 37), or a den of lions (Nah. 2 12), with the general idea of habitation. It is used of the dwelling place of Yahwe, both of the temple on earth (Ps. 26 8, 2 Ch. 36 15) and in a general way of heaven (Dt. 26 15, Zech. 2 17, Ps. 68 6, 2 Ch. 30 27). In a similar way Yahwe is said to be the *mā'ôn* of his people (Ps. 90 1; cf. 71 3, 91 9):

אדני מעון אתה היית לנו בדר ודר

Like *zebul* it is the name in Rabbinical literature of one of the heavens — the fifth [24]; and in medieval poetry is a designation of heaven itself.[25] What idea was associated with the use of *mā'ôn* as the dwelling of God is a question raised by Dt. 33 27: מענה אלהי קדם ומתחת זרעת עולם, and is answered as follows: כתיב מענה וג' אין אנו יודעין אם הקב"ה מעונו של עולם[26] ואם עולמו מעונו מן מה דכתיב[27] ה' מעון וג' הוי הקב"ה מעונו של עולם ואין עולמו מעונו: Like *zebul* again it was a place name: מעון by itself,[28] בית מעון,[29] בעל מעון,[30] or בית בעל מעון.[31]

[22] There is a name on one of the ostraka recently found by the Harvard Expedition at Samaria that is written בעלעזכר.

[23] *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.*, viii. 9947, on which see Shaw, *Travels*, ed. 3, 1808, p. 68. In viii. 5987, a part of the same name is found.

[24] Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, c. 37; Ḥagigah, 12 *b*.

[25] Brody u. Albrecht, *op. cit.*, no. 16, l. 21; no. 34, l. 3. Cf. מכון, no. 34, l. 7. It seems to be so used in Dt. 33 27; see n. 12.

[26] Bereshith R., 68, 67 *c* (Levy).

[27] Ps. 90 1, אדני מעון אתה היית לנו בדר ודר.

[28] Shabbath, 139 *a*.

[29] Jer. 48 23; Jer. Erub. v. (Zitomir ed. 26 *b*).

[30] Nu. 32 38, Ez. 25 9, 1 Ch. 5 8.

[31] Jos. 13 17, Tosefta, ed. Zuckermandel, 71. 23.

From this it may be inferred that it was also the proper name of a god, though in what sense it was used we cannot tell any more than we could in the case of Zebul.

Zebul is heaven; Beelzebul is lord of heaven. With these facts decided we may proceed at once to the solution of the problem. It was the Pharisees who used the name; Beelzebul was chief of the demons; the gods of the nations were considered by the Jews to be demons; in each of the prominent religions of the period one god held a preëminent place, and he was a sky-god — these are the considerations on which the solution will be based.

The Pharisees, Matthew tells us, were the people who said that Jesus was casting out demons by Beelzebul, the chief of the demons; according to Mark it was the scribes who came down from Jerusalem — who in this case were in all probability of the Pharisaic party. These people were the makers as well as the observers of tradition. They were students and teachers of the Bible who represented the observant and progressive side of Judaism — the advocates of the new religion. They are the people from whom we may look for some information on the subject of demonology.[32]

Beelzebul is chief of the demons; that is plain from the gospel narrative — "this man doth not cast out demons but by Beelzebul, the prince of the demons."[33] It is necessary to see what was meant by 'chief of the demons,' and whence a 'chief of the demons' might come. The later Jewish demonology was composite in structure; its materials were drawn from all accessible sources. Natural developments at home were combined with borrowings from abroad; and the organization of it all was certainly a gradual and not necessarily a logical process.[34]

Satan was a product of Jewish history. At one time an officer of the celestial court, he later became the representative of all that was evil, appropriating the functions and the

[32] See *Ency. Biblica*, "Scribes and Pharisees," § 6 f.

[33] Mt. 12 24; cf. 9 34, also Mk. 3 22, Lk. 11 15.

[34] Cf. Toy, "Evil Spirits in the Bible," *JBL*, 1890, p. 17 ff.

names of various other prominent evil and supernatural beings, the evolution of the idea associated with him keeping pace with the development of Jewish angelology and demonology.[35] In a somewhat similar fashion the impulse to evil that is in man from his youth (Gn. 8 21) was personified; the *Yeṣer ha-Raʿ* joined the number of the demons, and before long it was said[36] that Satan, *Yeṣer ha-Raʿ*, and the Angel of Death[37] were one and the same. Belial is another of the important demons. In the early Hebrew literature this word is found chiefly in such expressions as בני בליעל, "vile scoundrels,"[38] in later literature by a natural development it has become a proper name which is applied to the chief of the demons.[39]

The general state of affairs may be illustrated very well from the New Testament. In it there is frequent mention of demons or unclean spirits. Among these powers there is one that is regarded as chief — *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*. He is ordinarily known as Σατανᾶς or ὁ Σατανᾶς, Διάβολος or ὁ Διάβολος; but many other designations are also employed: *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κοσμοῦ τούτου*, *ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*, *ὁ ἄνομος*, *ὁ πειράζων*, *ὁ ἐχθρός*, *ὁ πονηρός*, *βελίαρ*, *ὁ ὄφις*, *ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος*, *ὁ δράκων*. The number caused no difficulty whether they were regarded as epithets or real names; on occasion several of them were used side by side: *ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην* (Rev. 12 9).

The demons that we have discussed so far, demons that came to be known as 'chief' demons, were the result of native development, though there is little room for doubt that this development was fostered by foreign influence, especially by that of Babylonia and Persia. In addition to this external influence on the development of native Jewish

[35] Cf. Blau, *Jewish Ency.*, *s.v.* "Satan," p. 69 *a*.

[36] By Simon b. Lakish, Baba Batra, 16 *a*.

[37] Cf. 1 Chr. 21 15, 2 Ki. 19 35, 2 Sam. 24 15.

[38] Moore, *Judges*, p. 417; cf. also p. 419.

[39] Ascension of Isaiah, 2 4 4 2; and many passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

demonology there is to be observed a certain direct dependence on foreign religions — on the one hand, a direct borrowing from the foreign religion; on the other, explanations necessitated by the very existence of these religions.

Direct borrowing from a foreign religion, naturally rare, may be illustrated by Asmodeus,[40] the great demon of whom we learn chiefly in the book of Tobit. Whatever be the correct explanation of this name, there seems no longer room for doubt that in origin he was the great representative of evil in the Parsee religion, and that he was borrowed and "modified by the sovereign will of the popular imagination," and made into a chief of the demons[41] for the Jews.

The other phase of direct dependence is more apparent. Hebrew religion had not advanced very far before it was necessary to explain the fact of foreign religion and foreign worship. Different explanations of the fact could be given, and were given. Yahwe might be considered the God of the Hebrews, and a foreign god the god of the foreign people concerned — the opinion of monolatrous theology. Or it might be said that a god of a foreign people was no god at all. On the other hand, it was possible to associate the two gods as the same god under different names. Origen in combating this view illustrates it. He says it is wrong for Christians to call God Zeus, that they are to be defended when they struggle even to the death to avoid calling God by this name or by a name from any other language.[42] He discusses the question further: *νομίζουσι μηδὲν διαφέρειν, εἰ λέγοι τις· σέβω τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἢ τὸν Δία ἢ Ζῆνα, καὶ εἰ φάσκοι τις· τιμῶ καὶ ἀποδέχομαι τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἢ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ γῇ πνεῦμα ἢ τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φασὶν οἱ Ἑλλήνων σοφοί.*[43] I suppose this was the course the Hellenists at the time of the Maccabæan struggle and later had to pursue unless they were prepared to give up their own religion altogether.[44]

[40] See Cheyne, *Ency. Biblica*, *s.v.*

[41] Called so in Git. 68 *a*; Pesach. 110 *a*; Targ. to Eccl. 1 13.

[42] *C. Cels.*, i. 25.

[43] *Exh. ad Martyr.*, § 46; cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 54.

[44] Cf. Cheyne, *Religious Life*, p. 196.

The explanation that was most generally accepted at that period, however, was different. *πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμονία* (Ps. 95 (96) 5; cf. 1 Ch. 16 26); *ἐμίγησαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἔμαθον τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν . . . ἔθυσαν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τοῖς δαιμονίοις* (Ps. 105 (106) 37); *οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . οὐδὲ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων . . . ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια* (Rev. 9 20). This same idea apparently finds expression in 1 Corinthians: *ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν.*[45] It was further explained that it was really God's doing that foreign nations should do so, for to all the people under the whole heaven he had at the beginning allotted the sun, moon, and stars, and all the host of heaven.[46] A slightly different theory held that when the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the children of men, he set the bounds of the people: *κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ* (Dt. 32 8). So *ἑκάστῳ ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον* (Ecclus. 17 17). There is special mention of princes of Persia (Dan. 10 13. 20) and Greece (Dan. 10 20), and likewise of Israel; that of Israel is called Michael (Dan. 10 13. 21 12 1).

The steadfast Jew of the Maccabæan period would have been more than human if, altogether apart from theological opinion, he had considered the god of the heathen oppressor aught else but a demon, and a very powerful and vicious one at that, when he saw the blasphemies (2 Macc. 6 4) that were committed in Judah and Jerusalem, the destruction of the people, the desolation of the holy city, the sanctuary in the hands of strangers (1 Macc. 2 1-14), the high priest sending sacrifices for Herakles at Tyre (2 Macc. 4 19), the foreigner commanding that the holy temple be called by the name of Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. 6 2), the stranger coming as a man of peace and then cutting down the unsuspecting multitudes on the Sabbath day, and when he saw his own brethren forsaking the law of his fathers and of his God (1 Macc. 1 52).

This particular state of affairs of course was transient, but on that account not necessarily quickly forgotten. It was

[45] 1 Cor. 10 20; cf. Baruch, 4 7 (Swete), Dt. 32 17 ⑥.

[46] Dt. 4 19; cf. 29 25. A different explanation in Enoch 19 1.

one phase of a condition that was not transient, but one that was to endure. The cosmopolitan ideas of Alexander the Great, carried on by warrior and trader, pervaded the whole civilized world during the Hellenistic age. The greatness of the man is seen in the ambition that set itself to carry not only Greek arms to every land, but also Greek manners and customs, Greek language, Greek culture, enlisting all the virtues and energies of Asian life, and organizing them in a system and with a spirit that was Greek. His greatness is seen in the permanence of this conquest of Greek civilization in the face of the dissolution of Greek rule. With so much new in this life that was attractive, —opportunities for military service, for political and financial usefulness; more fertile lands abroad, commerce, cities, —with so much that was repellent, and the inability of any man to flee it or avoid it, it would be incredible if its influence on Jewish religion could not be seen, if the influence that lay behind this movement did not make itself felt— the influence of its religion, its gods, its chief god. The gods of the nations are demons.

In each of the prominent religions of the period one god held a preëminent place, and he was a sky-god. We have already mentioned in connection with the discussion of the relation of 'temple' and 'heaven' to 'dwelling of God' that this was the case in the Jewish religion. It is worth pointing out here to how great an extent it is true that the God of the Jews was God of heaven. In the first book of Maccabees there are almost a dozen examples of the use of heaven by metonymy for God;[47] in the second book there are almost as many.[48] The God of the Jews is called God or Lord or King of Heaven in many places.[49] This is found put in the mouths of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, and in the edicts of Darius and Artaxerxes; it is used by the Jews in

[47] 1 Macc. 3 18. 50 4 10. 24. 40. 55 5 31 9 46 12 15 16 3.

[48] 2 Macc. 7 11 8 20 9 4. 20 11 10 14 34 15 34.

[49] Ezra 1 2 5 11. 12 6 9. 10 7 12. 21. 23. 23, Neh. 1 4. 5 2 4. 20, Dan. 2 18. 19. 37. 44 4 37 5 23, Jonah 1 9, Ps. 136 26, Tobit 13 11, 2 Macc. 15 23. Cf. for the identical usage in the Assuan papyri, Sachau, *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden*, no. I, 2, 27; II, 26; III, 3.

addressing men of other religions, and in speaking among themselves. Such expressions as אבינו שבשמים are very common in Rabbinical literature,[50] and simply represent the popular usage of the time.[51] Jesus adopted this usage as suitable to his purpose: Πατὴρ ὁ ἐν (τοῖς) οὐρανοῖς is found thirteen times in Matthew, Πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος seven times.[52]

Similar to this is the cultus of Baalshamem — "the god who dwells in the heavens, to whom the heavens belong." [53] A great deal of the material on this subject has been gathered together by Lidzbarski;[54] from this it is clear that for the later time traces of this cultus are to be found in the whole north Semitic world from Sardinia and Carthage to Palmyra. In many cases he had risen far above the local Baals, *e.g.* at Palmyra; in some it may be that he had supplanted them. Lidzbarski's results need now to be revised in two respects: the occurrence of the name in an inscription of Esarhaddon,[55] and in one of Zakir, king of Hamath and La'ash,[56] necessitates a much earlier date for the beginning of the cult than Lidzbarski had supposed;[57] and the occurrence of the name in the Zakir inscription alongside of the names of other gods removes the objections he raised against supposing that the Dhū Samāwī of South Arabia was equivalent to Baalshamem.

The same general conditions prevailed in the important non-Semitic religions of the period. It is not necessary to demonstrate this;[58] our problem is to show how the Jews

[50] In the Mishna: Sota 49 *a*, *b*, Aboth 23 *a*, Rosh ha-Shanah 29 *a*, Yoma 85 *b*.

[51] Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 188.

[52] Hawkins, *Horæ Syn.*[1], p. 26.

[53] Moore, *Ency. Biblica*, "Baal," § 4.

[54] *Ephemeris*, i. p. 243 ff.

[55] Schrader, *Keilinschriften*[3], p. 357.

[56] Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, 1908, pp. 156–178.

[57] Cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 1 ff.; Montgomery, *JBL*, 1909, p. 67.

[58] Farrell, *Cults of the Greek States*, says: In the Greek theory concerning the physical world and the powers that ruled it, we find beneath the bewildering mass of cults and legends a certain vague tendency that makes for monotheism, a certain fusion of persons in one; namely, Zeus. This tendency is genuine and expressed in the popular cult, and is to be distinguished from the later philosophical movement. Thus Zeus could be identi-

regarded the situation, and that is clear. The religions with which they were brought face to face in no uncertain way in the New Testament period were those of Greece and Rome with their gods, Zeus and Jupiter.

The one passage in the Old Testament which throws light on the Jewish attitude to these religions is the famous שקוץ שמם of Daniel.[59] There seems no longer any reason for doubting that this is a contemptuous allusion to בעל שמים,[60] from which we may infer that בעל שמים was the name applied by the Jews to the god worshiped by Antiochus. We need not stop to inquire whether that be Jupiter or Zeus; whichever it was, he was thought to be the one who had brought about the desolation of the sanctuary. The passage that bears the strongest testimony in favor of the theory that שקוץ שמם is a perversion of בעל שמים, 2 Macc. 6 2, gives further proof of the fact that בעל שמים was the name the Jews applied to the god of the Greeks and Romans. In the Syriac version of this verse Zeus in the name Ζεύς Ὀλυμπίος and Ζεύς Ξενίος is rendered בעלשמין; in the Vulgate, Jupiter.

There is outside testimony to show that this association was general. Jerome in discussing Dan. 11 31 says that there was a statue erected to Jupiter Olympius; Syncellus[61] says in the same connection that the temple was defiled by setting up in it Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου βδέλυγμα. Josephus,[62] further, quotes Dius as saying that Hiram joined to the city of Tyre

fied with Poseidon as Zeus ἐνάλιος and in Caria as Ζηνο-Ποσειδῶν; he would be identified also with Hades, not only in the poetry of Homer and Euripides, but by the worshipers at Corinth or Lebadeia. The fortunate mariner could offer up his thanksgiving either to Poseidon or Zeus ἀποβατήριος or Σωτήρ. The man who wanted a wind could pray to the various wind gods or to Zeus οὔριος or εὐάνεμος (i. p. 47). His worship has a *political* significance higher than any other (i. p. 61), a political significance such as belonged to no other Hellenic divinity (i. p. 63). No other Greek deity possessed so long a list of cult-names derived from names of people and towns (i. p. 63).

[59] Dan. 9 27 11 31 12 11; cf. 8 13.

[60] Cf. Nestle, *ZATW*, 1884, p. 248.

[61] *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzan.*, vol. xi. 1. p. 543. See Grätz, *Gesch.*, ii. 2. p. 314 f.

[62] *Ant.*, viii. 5, 3; *c. Ap.*, i. 17.

the temple of Olympian Zeus, which had stood by itself, and Menander as speaking of Hiram's dedication of the golden pillar that was in the temple of Zeus at Tyre. This temple is distinguished from those of Hercules and Astarte; that, together with the name applied to it, makes it very probable that it was the temple of Baalshamem. Philo of Byblus, according to Eusebius,[63] makes this association directly: *τοῦτον γὰρ θεὸν* [Ἥλιον] *ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον, Βεελσαμήν καλοῦντες, ὅ ἐστι παρὰ Φοίνιξι, κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἕλλησι.* It is not of importance here that he confuses the sun with both Baalshamem and Zeus.

The people who were troubling the steadfast Jews in the New Testament period and for some generations preceding were from Greece and Rome. The god who had been the cause of all this trouble, the one whom these people worshiped, was known to the Jews as בעל שמים. He was a demon, that was plain; but as such it would never do to call him בעל שמים, for that, as we have seen, was the name of the god of the Jews. The mutilation of that name in Daniel shows how distasteful it was, to some of the Jews at least, to apply it to any but the true God. There were other words for heaven that were free from this association, that would suit the situation just as well — וילון, רקיע, שחקים, זבול, מעון, מכון, ערבות were all used of heaven at this period. One, *zebul*, was chosen; why this particular one we do not know. Some of the above list, of course, are unsuited, but others not so unsuited. We have seen that *zebul* had often been used as the name of a god. It may be that this usage had persisted (there is some evidence that it had), that it had been interpreted in accordance with the developing meaning of *zebul*, and so had grown to fit the situation to which it was now applied.

To conjecture further on this subject would be to guess. But whatever may have been the reason of the choice of *zebul*, it is beyond dispute that the god of the hated foreign religion was a sky-god, that the word that would first sug-

[63] *Prep. Evang.*, 1. 10 beg.

gest itself as the proper designation for him as chief of the demons was unsuited on account of its associations, that Beelzebul was not so unsuited, but was satisfactory in every way, and was so applied. So Beelzebul, Lord of Heaven, came to be chief of the demons.

The one passage, which has a bearing on the subject of Beelzebul, which we have not yet discussed, only confirms this result. "A disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more shall they call them of his household!" Various suggestions have been made as to why Beelzebul is introduced here. The question that is to be answered is why the word *οἰκοδεσπότης* is used, and not some other word; and the answer is because of the ordinary meaning of *zebul*. It is a play on each other of the words בעל זבול and אם — בעל הבית לבעל הבית קראו בעל זבול חד כמה לבני ביתו: (cf. Peshitta).

Very little need be said of the interpretations of Beelzebul that have been offered hitherto. Almost all who have regarded Beelzebul as a real name have started out with the assumption that *zebul* meant dwelling, and then conjectured or guessed at its application in a name 'lord of the dwelling': because the demon took up his abode in human bodies; or because he had his dwelling in Tartarus or the nether world; or because he was prince of the powers of the air; or a planet was referred to; to be more exact, the planet Saturn, or perhaps the sky. This is not, so far as we know, an esoteric name; but if it were and there were no way of finding out its application but by guessing, it would be as well not to guess.

Some have supposed that Beelzebul is a euphonic modification of Baalzebub of Second Kings. Examples of changes similar phonetically have been adduced in sufficient number. The difficulty (which most who hold to this theory have avoided) is to explain the development in thought from Baalzebub to Beelzebul. To say that the fly is an unclean

and troublesome animal does not help much; nor yet is one persuaded that the missing link is found in בעל דבבא—a phrase that is quite intelligible though apparently not understood by some who write on this subject. All the conjectures that have been made along this line have to be viewed in the light of what we *know* about how the Jews themselves in the New Testament period understood Baalzebub. There is positive evidence from Josephus, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and a passage in the Babylonian Talmud. Josephus[64] says that Ahaziah sent to Ekron to inquire of Μυιᾶ, "for that was the god's name." In the Greek translation of 2 Ki. 1 2 we read Ahaziah's command: ἐπιζητήσατε ἐν τῷ βάαλ μυῖαν θεόν Ἀκκαρῶν. We may feel confident that μυῖα is a translation of זבוב, and in the light of Josephus' explanation, that it is here also regarded as a proper name. A Baraitha preserved in the Babylonian Talmud[65] goes somewhat beyond this. It connects Baalberith, who is said to have been worshiped at Shechem after the death of Gideon, with Zebub of Ekron; and explains that the latter was a fly, and that people made images of him, and would carry one about in their pockets and kiss it. Early Christian interpreters, likewise, know nothing of any interpretation but that which connects the name with a fly — Theodoret on 2 Ki. 1; Philaster, *Divers. Hæres. Liber;* Gregory Nazianzen, *Contra Julian.*, orat. iv; Procopius of Gaza on 2 Ki. 1.

So we are forced to the conclusion that facts have not been adduced to show nor a suggestion made that would reasonably explain how the chief of the demons was evolved out of a Canaanite god taken over by the Philistines, who had a certain reputation as a giver of oracles, but about whom we have no further information, nor reason for supposing that the Jews of New Testament times had.[66]

[64] *Ant.* ix. 2. 1.

[65] Shabbath 83 *b*.

[66] If, as seems probable, Baalzebub is a perversion of Baalzebul, it must be due to the author of the story or a very early editor. The earliest version knows only Baalzebub, and, what is more important, the *Baal* is intact, which would not have been the case had the word been changed in a late period. But there is no reason that I know of to suppose that any one in

The theory, proposed by Lightfoot[67] and adopted widely, that Beelzebul is an odious epithet applied to the chief of the demons, rests on error. He cites a passage of the Palestinian Talmud:[68] אפילו אותם שפשטו ידיהם בזבול יש להם בטחון, which he translates "Etiam illis, qui manus suos extenderunt, in stercororio (id est, in Idoleo vel Idololatria) est spes." To make his translation of זבול doubly sure he points to the occurrence of the word מזבלין in the same passage a few lines below. The passage he has translated owes its position to the fact that it is an interpretation of part of Ecclesiastes 9 4: מי אשר יחבר אל כל החיים יש בטחון, which differs from one given directly above it. It has no connection whatever with מזבלין. What פשטו ידיהם בזבול does mean was pointed out on page 36. For further proof he quotes the expression יום ניבול וויבול היה. This is not our word at all; it is written with *yod*, and is doubtless to be pronounced with the same vowels as שִׁקּוּץ[69]—so it has no place in this discussion.

the New Testament period had any idea that Baalzebub was a perversion of Baalzebul. This with reference to C. Harris in Murray's Bible Dictionary (ed. Piercy, 1908, *s. v.* "Baalzebub"), who though he knows what Zebul means, fails in this respect to connect the names Baalzebub and Beelzebul, and also to interpret correctly the Zebul of Beelzebul.

[67] *Horæ Hebr.*, 1st ed. 1674, Eng. trans. 1684; on Matt. 12 24, Lk. 11 15.

[68] In the Zitomir edition it is Berachoth 56 *b*.

[69] So far as I know both the abstract noun and the verb from the same root are always found in the intensive stem.

The J. P. Morgan Collection of Coptic Manuscripts

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MR. J. P. MORGAN has just received from Paris what must be called the most complete, and from the point of view of ancient Christian art and literature, the most valuable collection of Coptic manuscripts as yet known.

It consists of fifty volumes, some of which contain as many as nine or ten different treatises. Nine or ten of them are still in their original bindings of the ninth or tenth century, and a dozen of them are adorned with full-page miniatures representing the Virgin with Her Divine Son at Her breast or sitting in Her lap, angels, martyrs, anchorites, and other saints. A wealth of decorations from the vegetable and animal realms runs along the margins and around the titles of the individual treatises. The bindings consist of boards made of layers of papyrus leaves taken from older manuscripts: the boards, almost half an inch thick, are covered in leather enriched with exquisite designs. One of these bindings covering a magnificent copy of the Four Gospels, is richly and tastefully decorated in red and gold, and shows on the inside the name of the Convent of the Archangel Michael, to which the collection belonged.

Many of the manuscripts are dated from the first half of the ninth to the latter half of the tenth century. They are the oldest dated Coptic manuscripts yet found, even as the miniatures and bindings, just referred to, are the earliest examples of the art of book-binding and decorating manuscripts among the Christians of Egypt.

The collection is rich in biblical manuscripts. It contains six complete books of the Old Testament, of which so far we

had but few fragments, viz., the books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, the First and Second Books of Samuel, and the book of Isaiah. The New Testament is represented by three complete Gospels, viz., Matthew, Mark, and John (Luke is unfortunately incomplete), the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, the two of St. Peter, and the three of St. John, for all of which books heretofore we were dependent on fragments from many manuscripts of various, and, as a rule, of uncertain ages and provenances. There are only three liturgical manuscripts, a Lectionary, a Breviary, and an Antiphonary, but all three are absolutely unique and of the greatest importance for the history of the ancient Egyptian liturgies.

The apocryphal literature holds also a prominent place in Mr. Morgan's collection, either in the form of special treatises, as the life of St. John the Evangelist by Prochorus, and the Investiture of the Archangel Michael as chief of the heavenly hosts, or more commonly in the shape of homilies or discourses attributed to St. Cyril of Jerusalem or some other prominent Father of the Church. There are also numerous biographies of famous anchorites and cenobites, such as St. Anthony and St. Pacomius, and quite a number of interesting acts of martyrdom.

Most of those documents are couched in the Sahidic dialect, the home of which seems to have been Upper Egypt, but evidently it had spread in the Fayum, as a literary language, as early as the eighth or ninth century. For this wonderful collection was discovered by Arabs in the ruins of a monastery on the southwestern border of that region. Many of the colophons to be found at the end of the manuscripts make it clear beyond the possibility of a doubt that the manuscripts were all written in that province, and many of them in the convent itself, in the ruins of which they were found some twenty months ago, hidden away in a stone vat, with the writing outfits of the scribes: three ink-wells combined with calami cases, and two of the calami themselves, the latter consisting of reed stems sharpened into pens at both ends. The wells proper were of lead and contained

once a sponge imbibed with ink, exactly as customary nowadays in Egypt and other parts of the Orient.

Two other manuscripts, as also all the colophons, are written in the local Fayumic dialect. There is also a Bohairic manuscript, a copy of the Four Gospels. It contains unfortunately many lacunæ, but it has nevertheless a great critical value, as it is the oldest copy of the Four Gospels in that dialect.

What makes the extraordinary importance of the new Morgan collection is the fact that these documents are as a rule complete, while other collections, yet reputed so valuable, of Rome, Paris, and London, to name the principal ones only, generally consist of fragments. For the past two hundred years the Arabs have been wont to tear the manuscripts they discover, so as to give to each member of the tribe his share of the spoils, and also in the hope of securing higher prices by selling the manuscripts piecemeal to individual tourists, or explorers, who often pay as much as eighty dollars for a single leaf of volume, while they would hesitate to buy a whole volume at that rate.

We need not say that this method has proved fatal to the interest of science, as many of the scattered leaves will meet destruction by some cause or another before they find a purchaser, or they will remain indefinitely hidden away by the individual owners.

The most of the manuscripts of this new collection, the finest that was ever discovered, had already been divided into small bundles of leaves and distributed among a number of Arabs, and it would have gone the way of the former finds, but for the energy of Mr. Chussinat, head of the French institute of archeology at Cairo, who persuaded an antiquarian to hunt up the precious relics and buy them at whatever price the Arabs wanted for them.

America may well feel proud that one of her sons has endowed her with such a treasure of art and ancient literature. Thanks to Mr. J. P. Morgan, our country is coming gradually to the point where it will have nothing to envy the European countries for. Mr. Morgan has made up his

mind not to keep this magnificent collection hidden away among his priceless treasures, but with a truly liberal and scholarly spirit, he will see that the whole scientific world be given the benefit of it, and is now considering the means to that end.

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Some Notes on the Use of אל in Genesis

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THERE are eighteen occurrences of the word אל in Genesis, omitting 35 7 (with LXX, Luc., and Vulg.), and reading אל for את in 49 25 (with LXX, Luc., 3 Mss., Sam., and Syr.). It occurs five times with the article, either simply (31 13 and 46 3, both E), or with a preposition (35 1 E and 49 25 J). Of the thirteen remaining instances, one is the אל אלהי ישראל 33 20 (E), with which may be compared the יהוה אלהי ישראל Jos. 8 30. The others are all in the epithetical combinations, אל עליון (14 18. 19. 20. 22), אל ראי (16 13 J), אל שדי (17 1 28 3 35 11 48 3, all P, 43 14 E, and 49 25 J), and אל עולם (21 33 J). All but four of these instances are from Preprophetic writings, and generally admitted to be based upon very old, possibly Premosaic, traditions, and the four uses of אל שדי in P are confirmed by both J and E, and therefore probably from a similarly old tradition. For the sake of simplicity I shall not translate the term at present, but shall content myself with the simple transcription of the Hebrew letters, El.

We have here to do with a common Semitic word, which appears also in Phœnician, in Aramaic, in Assyrian, and in Arabic. To the present writer it appears certain that it had a wide use in the early Hebrew traditions, and that the

recorders of those traditions, J, E, and P, intentionally, and for theological reasons, substituted the יהוה or אלהים for an original reading אל. It is the oldest Semitic term for "deity," "divinity," and, as such, was applied to the numina which were believed to frequent the ancient sacred stones, trees, and springs. But, even in Premosaic times, it connoted far more than the idea of the local numen, and the writers of the prophetic schools J and E saw in it merely a synonym of יהוה or אלהים, which they constantly used.

In 35 1 (E) Jacob is commanded to go to Bethel and build an altar לאל הנראה אליך, "to the El who appeared to thee," and in v. 3 he proposes to obey the command, and to build an altar לאל העונה אתי, "to the El who answers me," while in 31 13 (E) he is described as recording the words of a vision אנכי האל בית אל, "I am the El, Beth-el," or "I am the El at Bethel." The LXX translators, as well as the Targums (Onkelos and Jonathan), realizing the impossibility of the article with a word in the construct, and knowing nothing of the possibility of Beth-el as a possible proper name of a divinity, read אנכי האל הנראה אליך בית אל. The reference is plainly to the Bethel vision recorded by both J and E, whose records are combined in 28 11-22. There is a general unanimity of opinion in the assignment of these verses to their respective sources, and, for our purpose, the accepted division serves all needs. To J belong vv. 10. 13-16, 19 and 21 b; vv. 11-12. 17-18. 21 a and 22 belong to E.

The two accounts agree in the following points:

1) That Jacob accidentally chose the spot as a place in which to spend the night.

2) That, while he was sleeping, some sort of theophany occurred there as an entire surprise to him.

3) That, accordingly, he termed the place a "Beth-el."

In J all reference to the stone or to the ladder is omitted, and it is Jahweh himself, and not one of his angels, who appears to the sleeping wanderer. But the passage looks as if the writer had taken an old tradition and intentionally omitted parts, and, instead of the אל which belonged to the original, used the name יהוה, excepting in the name of the

place, where it would be obviously impossible in a narrative that purported to give the etymology of the famous shrine Bethel. Accordingly Jacob is made to say that because Jahweh was in the place, and he was unconscious of the fact, he would call the place "Beth-el," which is something of a *non sequitur*. This difficulty, as well as the linguistic awkwardness of v. 16 is removed if, instead of יש יהוה במקום הזה, we read יש אל במקום הזה.

On the other hand, E has omitted none of the old tradition, mentioning even the anointing of the stone, but the intimate association of God with the stone, or with the place, as in J, was contradictory to his theological conceptions, that the dwelling place of God was in heaven, and he has therefore altered the tradition to keep it in harmony with that notion. It is not God himself, but his angels, which E records as appearing to the wanderer. However, he neglects to make this change in his reference to the story in 35 1, which preserves, not only the tradition of the theophany, but even the original word אל, instead of the later plural אלהים. It would seem that the original tradition underlying this passage was that of the appearance of an El at a sacred stone.

The same result appears from a study of the flight of Hagar (16 1-14, all J except 9-10 E). Hagar flees from Sarai, and the מלאך יהוה finds her by עין משפט. He tells her she is pregnant, and promises a future for her son, adding וקראת שמו ישמעאל כי שמע יהוה אל עניך. The story continues by saying ותקרא שם יהוה הדבר אליה אתה אל ראי. From the form of v. 11 we should expect the name ישמעיהו, but, if we substitute אל for יהוה, the verse reads readily enough. Again, it is the מלאך who addresses Hagar, but in v. 11 it appears that the divinity himself had spoken. The suggested emendation is to supply, as the original reading, האל for מלאך יהוה in vv. 7 and 11. Finally, the word וימצאה is out of place. It is the only connection of this word with יהוה. The most natural word to be expected, whether we use אל or יהוה as the subject, is וַיַּרְא. Likewise, in v. 13, instead of the very late Qal participle הדבר, we should

expect הנראה. The emended verses, then, would read (7) ויראּ אליה האל ..... (11) ויאמר לה האל ..... וקראת שמו ישמעאל כי שמע האל אל עניך: (13) ותקרא שם האל הנראה אליה אתה אל ראי

The יהוה of 17 1 (P) is evidently a later interpolation. Another subject stood in this place in the original document which was used by P. If that subject had been the word usually used by P, there would be little reason for the change. If, however, the subject was האל, we have another instance of a stereotyped form, ויראּ האל, with which narratives of theophanies were wont to begin in the ancient traditions. My suggestion is that there was such a form, and that in J this was regularly changed to יהוה or מלאך יהוה, while in E it naturally became אלהים (12 7 18 1 26 2. 24 35 9 46 29).

Into the etymologies of the epithets compounded from I cannot enter here. In general, they describe some activity, physical or moral, of the El. More important is the question whether they are the names of separate and individual deities, or whether they are different appellatives of the same deity, or, in other words, whether there was a common deity worshiped by the Israelite tribes, or the Semitic ancestors of those tribes, in Premosaic times.

In the so-called "blessing of Jacob" (chap. 49), there occurs in the address to the tribe of Joseph (v. 25) the expression מאל אביך, which is paralleled, according to the emended reading, with אל שדי. In the dream of 46 3 (E) the deity is represented as saying אנכי האל אלהי אביך. This verse may be regarded in one of two ways. It may be considered as a fuller form of אנכי אל אביך, thus probably paralleled with the expression "God of the fathers," which occurs in all the Preëxilic documents of the Pentateuch (Ex. 3 6 E, 4 5 J, and often in the prefatory and concluding chapters of Deuteronomy). On the other hand, האל may be considered as a proper name, and אלהי אביך as an attributive clause.

The Original Home of the Story of Job

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PROFESSOR MACDONALD published in this JOURNAL some years ago (vol. xiv, 63–71) convincing proof that the story of Job as told in the Prologue and Epilogue of our book is by a different author from the author of the poem, and that it originally contained the portrait of a different Job. Afterward Professor Macdonald presented (*AJSL*, xiv, 137–164) some external evidence in corroboration of this thesis.

Later Professor Jastrow published in this JOURNAL (vol. xxv, pp. 135–191) an able study of a poem from the library of Assurbanipal concerning a high official or king of Nippur called Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, which presents many parallels to the poem of Job, and raised the question whether the story of Job may not have had a Babylonian origin.[1]

If there is any connection between this Babylonian poem and our story of Job, it was only of the most general character. It is clear that our poem of Job is the free composition of one of the world's greatest poets. Such coincidence of imagery as may be found with the Babylonian poem is due to similarity of theme and not to conscious borrowing. Moreover, the Prologue and Epilogue, as Professor Macdonald pointed out, and as is now generally accepted, represent an

[1] In addition Jastrow published a German translation of all the text then known in his *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii. 120–133. Translations are also found in Zimmern's *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, Leipzig, 1905, 28–30, and Weber's *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 135–137. A more recently discovered fragment is published by R. Campbell Thompson in *PSBA*, xxxii. 18–24, and the whole is translated again by M. F. Martin in the *Journal Asiatique*, July–August, 1910, pp. 75–143.

earlier form of the story, the Job of which was not a critic of the divine government, but was an example of uncomplaining patience. Now that R. Campbell Thompson has recovered a tablet which contains, though in fragmentary form, the turning point of the Babylonian story, it appears (though the fragmentary text leaves some doubt about it) that that form of the story represented Job as finally discovering a conjurer (*mašmašu*) who was able to make for him effective intercession with his god. Assuming for the moment that the three forms of the story spring from the same root, the Babylonian tale was told to magnify the power of magicians, the story of the Prologue and Epilogue to glorify patient submission, and the poem to demonstrate the inadequacy of an out-worn theology.

It is quite clear that, if the story traveled westward from Babylonia, it traveled orally in bare outline, shorn of all local features. The name of the sufferer, Job, is quite different from the name of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, and the localities mentioned in our Biblical story, indefinite as they are, certainly have nothing to do with the neighborhood of Nippur.

It is a well-known fact that stories travel and attach themselves to new localities and new characters. Two or three years ago the writer was told in a remote country village an amusing story of the school days of Colonel Roosevelt. Repeating it some weeks later to a man who had traveled much, he was informed that that story was told in England forty years ago of the school days of the author of *Tom Brown at Rugby*.

The locality, then, to which the story of Job had attached itself was probably much nearer to Palestine than Nippur. The author of the Prologue refers to it vaguely as among the "children of the East" (1 3).

A study of other parts of the Old Testament reveals the fact that there were two different traditions concerning the location of Uz. Gen. 22 21 (J) and 10 23 (P) make Uz a son of Aram. This implies that it lay to the northeast, but it might be anywhere between the Hauran and the Euphrates. On the other hand, Gen. 36 28 (P^s) and Lam. 4 21 point to

a locality in or near Edom. Jeremiah in 25 20 mentions Uz between Egypt and Philistia, as though it lay between Palestine and Egypt, but it is not impossible that Jeremiah may have had in mind a territory near Edom.

Similarly, outside the canonical text we find evidence of two views as to the location of Uz. Shalmaneser II of Assyria (860–825 B.C.) received tribute from Sasi, the Uzzite (Obelisk inscription, l. 154). As this Sasi is mentioned in connection with the men of Patin, it is clear that the Uzzite must have belonged west of the Euphrates. The connection with Patin would lead one to look for it east of the Lebanon, but that consideration is not absolutely decisive. Again, Josephus in his *Antiquities*, i. 6. 4, says, "Of the four sons of Aram Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus." Josephus, then, placed Uz to the northeast of the Sea of Galilee, but not so far away as the inscription of Shalmaneser seemed to do. Shalmaneser's reference was, however, vague, and it is quite possible that both he and Josephus referred to the same place.

On the other hand, the addition to the Hebrew text of Job 42 17, which is found in the Greek, Sahidic, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions, places Uz "on the borders of Edom and Arabia," and this view is perpetuated in the Testament of Job.

Of these two traditions it is clear that the oldest is the one which places Uz in an Aramæan and not in an Edomite locality. The latter tradition is not older than Jeremiah, and it is not certain that it can be traced back of a late supplementer to the Priestly Document, the author of Gen. 36 28. The Aramæan tradition, on the other hand, is as old as the J Document (Gen. 22 21) and that writer's contemporary, Shalmaneser II, and can be traced through the main P Document and Josephus down to the end of the first century of our era.

It is interesting to note that this older tradition would be satisfied if Uz were situated to the eastward of the Sea of Galilee, where many years ago Wetzstein found villages named for Job, *Dêr Eyyub* (Job's house) and *Maqam Eyyub*

(Job's place) (see his "Anhang" to Delitzsch's *Das Buch Iob*, p. 551 ff.), and where later Schumacher found a place called by the common people "The Threshing Floor of Uz" (see Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, p. 179, and Ewing, *Arab and Druze at Home*, p. 17). These places lie an hour to an hour and a half south of Nâwa, which is situated some twenty miles east of the north end of the Sea of Galilee. Wetzstein further pointed out that the home of Eliphaz the Temanite was to be found in the village of Tema, distant the journey of a day or a little more to the eastward in Jebel ed-Druz (cf. Ewing, *op. cit.* 19 ff.), and that Zophar the Naamathite came from the village of En-Noʿeme (spelled En-Nuʿeme on the map of Baedeker's *Palästina*, ed. 1910, op. p. 144), which lies a little to the east of Derʿat, and less than a day's journey from the "Threshing Floor of Uz." Tema and En-Noʿeme are so appropriate as the homes of Eliphaz and Zophar that it seems as though this must indeed be the country in which the Job legend either grew up or took root after it was transplanted. All that it needs to make it certain is to find a town in the region from which Bildad the Shuhite could plausibly come and to get rid of some difficulties to be mentioned later. Wetzstein saw the original of Shuhu in the "city Sueta," which some medieval writers (Eugesippus, William of Tyre, and Marino Sanuto) mention as existing in the region, and which Wetzstein thinks may have been a name for the country to the west of the Hauran mountains (*op. cit.* 569 ff.). Unsatisfying as this solution of Shuhu is, it seems clear that if the Uz and Tema and Naʿamah of our Job lay in the Hauran, the original of Shuhu must have been there also, and could not have been the distant Aramæan country of Suḫu on the Euphrates with which Assurnaṣirpal had trouble (cf. *KB*, i. 99 ff.).

If we could regard the localities mentioned in the Prologue to Job, then, as all lying in the Hauran, the conditions of the older tradition as to the locality of Uz would be satisfied, and the origin of the younger tradition would easily be explained. The Teman of Edom was much better known to the dwellers west of the Jordan than the Tema of Jebel

ed-Druz. This last place is never elsewhere mentioned in the Bible, while their Scriptures kept the memory of Teman in Edom alive among the Jews. It was natural, accordingly, for the second tradition to spring up. Perhaps at the same time Bildad was identified with the distant Shuhites, who are said in Gen. 25 2 to be descended from Abraham through Keturah.

There is an objection to this view of the origin of these traditions, which at first sight seems important, but upon closer scrutiny disappears. In Job 1 15. 17 the Sabæans and Chaldæans are said to have each had a part in destroying Job's property. While it appears from Eze. 21 20 ff. that the Chaldæan king Nebuchadrezzar may have marched against Rabbath Ammon, going in all probability through the Hauran, it is improbable that in a little district like that in which the "Threshing Floor of Uz," Tema, and No'eme lie, two distant nations like the Sabæans and Chaldæans should be on hand at the opportune moment to help on Job's trial. Grant that it is only a story, still it seems unlikely that, if the story originated here, these nations were a part of the tale. The Septuagint, Sahidic, and Ethiopic versions lead us to believe that in the original account neither of these nations played any part. In v. 15 instead of Sabæans (שְׁבָא), these versions read "those who take captive" (Gr. *αἰχμαλωτεύοντες*, so Sahidic, Ethiopic), *i.e.* the reading was from the root שָׁבָה[2], "take captive," from which the phrase, שְׁבֵה שִׁבְיֵךְ, "lead thy captivity captive," Jud. 5 12, comes. Clearly, then, the original reading here was שבה, "raiders." One can understand how שבה might be changed to שבא, but the contrary change would be improbable.

Similarly, in v. 17 these versions read "horsemen" (Gr. *οἱ ἱππεῖς*, cf. Sahidic, Ethiopic), which is the Hebrew פָּרָשִׁים, a word that could easily be corrupted into כַּשְׂדִּים,

[2] Three possibilities are presented by the reading of the versions. 1. The Hebrew may have been שִׁבִּים, but this is improbable as it would involve a change of two Hebrew verbs from singular to plural. 2. It may have been the singular participle, שֹׁבָה. 3. It may have been שָׁבָה, regarded by the Septuagint translators as a collective noun. One must choose between the second and third alternatives.

and which there is as much reason for regarding as the original reading here as for regarding שבה as the original reading in v. 15. The removal of Sabæans and Chaldæans from the original story, and the substitution of "raiders" and "horsemen" greatly increases the probability that Wetzstein was right in finding the home of our form of the Job story in the Hauran.

The introduction of the Sabæans and Chaldæans into the narrative was, no doubt, made in order to give Job a greater prominence. It helped to this end by making his wealth seem such that distant nations found it worth while to attack him. This tendency to glorify Job appears in the addition to 42 17 already referred to. That addition has been preserved to us in two recensions, the earlier and shorter one in the Arabic version, the later and longer one in the Septuagint, Sahidic, and Ethiopic versions. According to the shorter recension Job is identified with Jobab, a king of Edom, while Eliphaz is the king of the Temanites. According to the longer recension Job came of a line of kings of Uz; Eliphaz was also king of the Temanites; Zophar, king of the Minæans in South Arabia, while Bildad was tyrant of the Shuhites. In these two recensions the tendency to exalt Job and to make the theatre of the story an international one has gone still further. Our present Hebrew text, which introduces the Sabæans and Chaldæans, contains but the beginnings of this tendency. In the Testament of Job the glorification of Job has gone to the extreme. King Job tells at length of the truly royal munificence with which he helped the poor, while his royal friends come to condole with him accompanied by splendid bodyguards. Thus in the end Job, like Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, was regarded as a royal sufferer.

Wetzstein's theory of the location, then, accounts for the introduction of the story into Israel, accounts for the two traditions concerning the home of Job, and is supported by the fact that the natural growth of a popular story accounts for all features inconsistent with such a cradle land.[3]

[3] Since this article left the hands of the writer, Dhorme, *Revue Biblique* for January, 1911, pp. 102–107, has argued that the tradition of an Edomite locality is the earlier, but his reasons do not seem convincing.

The Four Women in St. Matthew's Genealogy of Christ

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RECENT discussion of the Virgin Birth has renewed interest in the genealogies of Christ; and one of the questions that have been reopened is the significance of the exceptional mention of the four women in Matthew's genealogy. Zahn, for example, in his Introduction and Commentary on Matthew has advocated the view suggested by earlier writers that the aim of the reference to these women is to connect their history with an attack on the Virgin Birth that had been made even before the composition of our First Gospel. As his view has largely influenced the most recent and representative British, French, and German discussions, it seems worth while to examine it critically; and if it should appear not to be tenable, to suggest another theory.

The fundamental questions are whether the mention of the women is made with a dogmatic interest of the Evangelist in Christ's salvation of sinners; or with an apologetic interest in defending the Virgin Birth; or with an apologetic interest in a mere general problem of the Apostolic Age, revealed in a general tendency of his gospel as a whole. Ordinarily the purpose of the Evangelist is made uncertain by confusing these distinct aims; and the confusion is occasioned by the several characters and histories of the four ancestresses.

The Church fathers generalizing from the sinful character of some of the women named are most frequently interested in allegorizing as to the appropriateness of the Saviour of

sinners descending from sinners. Origen in his 28th homily on Luke,[1] preserved in Jerome's translation, supports this view by the statement that all the women referred to were sinners censured by Scripture. Chrysostom in his first three homilies on Matthew based various practical applications on the sinfulness of the group.[2] And Jerome in his Matthew commentary bequeaths the view to Western writers in the definite statement:[3] "Notandum in genealogia Salvatoris nullam sanctarum assumi mulierum sed eas quas scriptura reprehendit; ut qui propter peccatores venerat, de peccatoribus nascens, omnium peccata deleret." Nicolaus de Lyra in the fourteenth century made a spirited denial of Jerome's view of the Evangelist's interest in the sinful character of these women.[4] But even in the early patristic period, Ambrose in his exposition of Luke 3 recognizes that this view finds its chief support in the reference to sinful Bathsheba. To him the mention of Ruth points to the Evangelist's interest in the admission of Gentiles into the Church of the Messiah descended from a Gentile. For Ruth though a Gentile was pious and chaste. Tamar did not seek satisfaction of lust, but yearned for the privilege of succession.[5] Rahab had already been pronounced just by James the Just and by the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This New Testament praise of Rahab is in accord with the Old Testament view not only of her, but of Ruth as well. If now it can be shown that the Old Testament presents Tamar also in an honorable light, it will be unreasonable to suppose that the Evangelist would introduce as the historic type of sinners a group of women of whom three-fourths enjoy Old Testament approbation.

The real animus and spirit of the Genesis account of Tamar has been reproduced most fully and with singular animation by Gunkel. Delitzsch indeed had already said of her:[6] "In all her errors, she was through her wisdom, ten-

[1] Migne, *P.G.*, 13. 1873.
[2] *P.G.*, 57.
[3] Vallarsi ed. 7 9.
[4] *Postillae*, 1508, fol. 6.
[5] *P.L.*, 15. 1678 ff. Quoted in Schanz, *Ev. Mts.*, p. 70.
[6] *New Cty. on Genesis*, ii. p. 276.

derness, and noble-mindedness a saint according to the Old Testament standard." Gunkel,[7] while not agreeing with Benzinger and Nowack in their view that Tamar had a rightful claim for maternity from her dead husband's father, insists in opposition to Reuss, Kautzsch, and Wellhausen, that her act was not incest according to the view of antiquity, by reason of the necessity of her situation. And in this he is supported by Holzinger;[8] both of them emphasizing Judah's justification of her act. Gunkel definitely interprets the Old Testament narrative as honoring her courage and energy. Overcoming the common prejudice, she does the utmost that an honorable woman can do: places her honor and her life in jeopardy; and yet disposes everything so prudently as a true ancestress in Judah, that the dangerous path leads to a happy goal, even her vindication by Judah and her renown in Israel as witnessed by the benediction on Ruth in Ruth 4 12.

That this honorable view of Tamar, which the twentieth century critic obtains from the direct statements and clear animus of the Genesis section, would naturally be the Evangelist's interpretation of the Old Testament record, is further attested by the Jewish traditions, be it of praise or of extenuation of the character not only of Tamar but also of the other women in the group. From the numerous collections of these traditions, it is enough to recall concerning Tamar that David could boast of this ancestress as being not of a tainted family, but as daughter of Shem, a priest; as being so modest that she was veiled even in her home, whence Judah's failure to recognize her; as boasting when pregnant that she would be the mother of kings and of a redeemer. E. A. Abbott[9] refers to the definite vindication of Tamar in the Targum of Jonathan on the Genesis narrative: "The Bath Kol fell from heaven and said, From before me was this thing done, and let both be delivered from judgment." He quotes also from the *Jewish Encyclopædia*,

[7] Nowack's *HKzAT*, "Genesis," 1902, pp. 365–370.
[8] Marti's *KHKzAT*, "Genesis," 1898, p. 230.
[9] *From Letter to Spirit*, p. 147, text, p. 421.

ii. 589 *b*: "At three Courts of Justice the Holy Spirit beamed forth; at the courts of Shem, of Samuel, and of Solomon. At the first a Bat Kol cried, She, Tamar, hath been more righteous than I."

In praise of Rahab and of her honorable standing in Israel are the assertions that the Holy Ghost rested upon her even before the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan; that she had a *fides specialis*, unique in that she regarded Jahveh as God not only in the visible earth, but infinitely more — as God in the invisible and unknown Heaven; that from her descended ten priests and prophets, including Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hulda; and that by her merit, in case two hundred members of her family were married with two hundred members of different families, all would be saved. It is needless to quote the rabbinical echoes of the praise of the personal character of Ruth already given in the Book of Ruth. Even Bathsheba is not held up to condemnation. The *Jewish Encyclopædia* quotes the passages in which the rabbis gloss her crime: "She was destined from creation to be the wife of David; and the marriage relation was immaturely precipitated by the wile of Satan."

There is therefore reason to believe that the Evangelist, even confining himself to the Old Testament record itself, would find in it and would adopt from it an honorable view of the character of three of the four women. Even of Bathsheba he could find no word of condemnation in the Old Testament after David's pardon and the death of the child of her shame. Evidently he cannot be interested, or primarily interested, in these women with such favorable Old Testament notice, as being representative sinners. Nor had he any need to seek in them the types of sin, since a selection from the genealogical line of the men would equally or better serve such a purpose.

Dismissing therefore the ancient theory that the four women are meant to be types of sin, we meet next with the view largely held since the Reformation, that they are the types of Mary. Generalizing from the fact that each became a mother in the Messianic line in an extraordinary and

utterly unanticipated manner, such maternity is regarded as related in the Evangelist's view to the Virgin Mary's supernatural maternity. Not only De Wette, but Meyer, B. Weiss, Holtzmann, Burkitt, and Loisy, continue with various qualifications this so-called Protestant tradition. This theory rests upon the large assumption not only that the Evangelist himself believed that the Virgin Birth was prefigured by the unusual motherhood of the four women, but also that he believed that the readers of his gospel would be prepared by the initial surprises of the genealogy to accept the miracle at its close. This last assumption is contrary both to the possibilities of the case and to the writer's directness of literary method and to his apologetic skill, which are strikingly summarized by Nicolardot,[10] who even compares him with Taine. There is no indication that any one, Jew or Gentile, in the Apostolic Age or since, was prepared, or could be prepared, for belief in the Virgin Birth by such a cryptic and illogical suggestion. In both Infancy narratives the Virgin Birth is brought into relation with various Old Testament facts, but with nothing of this typi Mariæ order. Nor could it be. Weiss' exposition, with no justification, ascribes to the Evangelist an argumentative comparison which issues in an utter *non sequitur* and self-contradiction. For on the types-of-Mary theories, there are only three possible points of comparison between the wedded mothers in David's line and the virgin mother of David's son—extraordinary admission to the line of ancestry, the personal character of the ancestresses, or the mode of maternity.

Weiss sees the comparison in the first point. In editing the Meyer commentary he retains the statement of Meyer: "In accordance with the whole design of the genealogy which was to issue in him who was wonderfully born of a woman, the four women had entered by an extraordinary mode into the vocation to continue the line of descent of the coming Messiah, and they thereby appeared to the Evangelist as types

[10] *Les Procédés de Rédaction des Trois Premiers Évangélistes*, pp. 112, 113.

of Mary."[11] But there is simply no comparison in this point of their extraordinary admission into Messiah's line of descent, with the New Testament view of Mary. She was not introduced into that line by any special divine interposition, as in the case of Rahab or Ruth; or by any divine overruling of human acts, as in the case of Tamar and Bathsheba. She was born in that line. In the New Testament there is *prima facie* no other suggestion or implication than that Christ was *kata sarka* of the seed of David, legally and physically, which involves the New Testament assumption of the Davidic lineage of his mother as well as of Joseph. The four women originally outside the line of descent cannot therefore be to the Evangelist types of Mary who did not need to be extraordinarily introduced into that line.

Equally impossible is it that in personal character the four women could be typical of Mary whom Christ's Church and the New Testament regard as a pure Jewish Virgin, since one of the four was a heathen who dangerously risked her chastity; another had boldly encouraged the father of her twins to intended fornication and almost to constructive incest; the third had been a harlot; and the fourth an adulteress. At most the strange choice of the four might point to the choice of a lowly and unknown mother of Messiah, but not to a virgin mother, which according to this theory is the one thing to be proved typologically. There is further a sheer impossibility of comparison between them and Mary in the third and crucial point of the mode of maternity. A virgin mother could not be typified by any of the four, who all became mothers in natural wedlock, and not one of whom was a virgin even when entering upon marriage relations with the fathers of their children. As

[11] Meyer-Weiss, 7th ed., 1883. In his own *Matthäusevangelium*, 1876, p. 75, he states: "Nicht bloss ihre Celebrität also oder gar ihre Sündhaftigkeit ist es, welche diesen Frauen ihre ausdrückliche Erwähnung im Stammbaum verschafft hat, sondern lediglich die Thatsache, dass sie alle auf ausserordentlichen Wegen zu Stammmüttern des Messias und so zu Vorbildern der Maria wurden, die gleichfalls nur durch wunderbare Gottesfügung die Gattin des Joseph und die Mutter des Messias ward (Vgl. v. 20. 21)."

the assumed typology thus fails to serve the Evangelist's alleged purpose, and contradicts his known views and purpose, the types-of-Mary theory must also be abandoned.

Wetstein in 1751 broke away from these theories of types of sin and types of Mary, and in modern spirit correlated the mention of the four women with the facts and problems of the Apostolic Age. Until recently his view seems to have received scant attention, probably owing in large measure to his clear terse statement of it, which at once reveals the improbability that the Evangelist could have used an argument so offensive both to Christian delicacy of feeling and to logical method and consistency. He claimed that the four are named not to prepare men to believe in the Virgin Birth, but to meet a contemporary Jewish objection to it.[12] Matthew in the method of an accurate disputant decided to remove Ebionite suspicions of a natural birth and Jewish suspicions of an illegitimate birth by the statement of Christ's miraculous birth in 1 18-25; and then by means of 1 3-17 to show that they who would not abandon such suspicions were unreasonable in opposing Christ himself and his teaching. "For if no stain attached to the offspring of the four sinful women, what is more unjust than to burden with suspicions him to whom they in nowise belong. What cavil can they make against a virgin mother who boast in the four women numbered in the line of Messianic descent? If they excuse open crimes, why are they so prone to empty suspicions, unless they are led by partisan feelings? Why imitate Doeg and Samael, and why not prefer to abstain from false accusations?"

It is substantially this theory which has been revived by Zahn, and which through his advocacy has received favorable notice or adoption, *e.g.* by Allen in *ICC*, p. 7, and in the *Expository Times*, 1911, pp. 349 ff.; by Nicolardot, *Procédés, etc.*, p. 21; by E. Klostermann in Lietzmann's *Hbuch. zNT*, ii. 152; and by J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des N.T.*, p. 234. Through such channels its increasing general or popular influence is assured. Zahn's special interest in the

[12] *Nov. Test.*, 1, pp. 226, 227.

theory is its indication of a very early Christian teaching as to the Virgin Birth. Assuming on Zahn's view that Matthew was originally composed about 62, it is held that his sharply pointed apologetic and polemical opening genealogical section implies a well-known Jewish attack on a still earlier current teaching of the Virgin Birth. He and Wetstein are no doubt right in inferring that the exceptional reference to the women has a direct apologetic intention; and are also right in holding that this reference is related to a crucial question in the early Apostolic Age.

But it may be denied that this question is an attack on the Virgin Birth. Principally because Matthew's reference cannot possibly be any answer to such attack, and therefore he cannot in fairness and justice reasonably be held to refer to it. Zahn argues: objectors who assert without grounds that Jesus is illegitimate, and cannot therefore be the promised son of David, should reflect that great stains are found in the Davidic line, which are not groundless slanders, but are attested by the Old Testament. If these dark spots in David's lineage cannot absolve the objectors from recognizing in that lineage a divinely guided holy history, nor absolve them from exertion to understand its dark points, so is it their duty not to refuse on account of hateful slanders against Jesus' origin a willing ear to the presentation of the true state of the facts. The *skandala* in the genealogy prepare for the *skandalon* which the Jews found in the conception and birth of Christ.[13]

This is but a repetition of Wetstein. Indeed, it is but a repetition of the types-of-Mary theory already criticised. Deniers of the miraculous birth are expected to become believers in it by dwelling on the swift allusions to non-virgin births from four women more or less stained in character, or standing originally outside of Israel and of the regular Messianic line. But what right have we to ascribe to the Evangelist the aim of expecting to win opponents by such pointless reasoning which really subverts his own purpose and his own faith?

[13] *Ev. d. Matth.*, p. 64.

The theory fails also in assuming that the section is addressed to opponents of the gospel. *Apologia* the First Gospel assuredly is; but not primarily to the Jews.[14] Like every book of the New Testament it is addressed to the faithful; and specially like all the gospels, it is for the defense and confirmation and establishment of those who are already believers, that they may know the certainty of the things in which they have been instructed, and believing may have life. In the matter under discussion, the mention of the four women has no reference to Virgin Birth, nor is it addressed to deniers of it. The *apologia* of the Virgin Birth is given in the succeeding section, and was directly addressed to believers who accept the apostolic witness to it, which rests on the claim of one woman, the tradition of the angelic annunciation, the illumination of Old Testament prophecy, and on all the supporting considerations connected with the person and work of Christ. Without question the Apostolic Church was devoutly interested in winning opponents to her faith, and was zealous to use all available resources of argument and persuasion. But against the Zahn-Wetstein theory it is to be maintained that the apologetic interest of the First Gospel cannot be strained so as to transform the gospel into a polemic against objectors to whom it is not directly addressed, especially here where objectors to the Virgin Birth are not in his thought, and who therefore could not be expected to find anything relevant or subversive of their objections in his reference to the four women.

If then the Evangelist has not introduced the women as types of sinners or of Mary, or as Old Testament difficulties whose solution will in some way remove difficulties in believing in the miraculous birth of Jesus, there remains the theory here briefly advocated that he has selected all four on account of their heathen origin or associations, and that he means to utilize their incorporation into Israel and their direct connection with the Messianic hope in the solution of

[14] Cp. Jülicher in Hauck, *PRE*, 12, p. 437.

one of the most pressing practical problems of the Apostolic Age — the admission of the Gentiles into the Church.

Special features of this theory have frequently been separately adopted, as when Ambrose, and many since, see in Ruth the type of the call of the Gentiles into the Church; and as Nicolaus de Lyra and Bengel recognize that the common characteristic of the whole group is that all were by *casu quodam singulari* joined to the descendants and heirs of Abraham. Von Soden, too, in his article on the genealogies of Jesus in the *Enc. Biblica* suggests that the interest of Christians in Ruth and Rahab is due to the fact that they were heathen. A. Lapide most definitely argues that the extraordinary mode by which the four were joined to their husbands is a type of the novel vocation of a church from among the Gentiles. But ordinarily there is failure to connect all four with heathenism. Oftener there is, as with Grotius, a confusing mixture of this theory with the theories of types of sin and of Mary, and seldom has been recognized the Evangelist's apologetic aim in bringing the history of the four into direct relation with the movements of the Apostolic Age.

It may then be maintained that the Evangelist was interested in all the group on account of their connection with heathenism. In addition to Ruth and Rahab, he likewise presumably regarded Tamar as a heathen, a Canaanite. Apart from modern writers who deem her a heathen either in connection with their eponymous theory of Gen. 38 or with their Astral religion theory, representative writers in all schools of criticism find in this chapter indications that she was a Canaanite: Delitzsch and Gunkel in their commentaries, and Curtis in *HBD*, ii. 125 *b*; Driver stating that she is presumably a Canaanite, and Skinner's discussion also implying that she was such. What is so evident to these scholars on reading the Old Testament page was in all probability equally evident to the Evangelist. He may possibly know also the Jewish tradition of David being taunted with descent from Tamar and Ruth, which implies the heathenism of both. The one piece of contrary evidence really points

to Tamar's heathenism. For the assertion in the Jubilees[15] and Testaments of the XII Patriarchs,[16] that she was an Aramean, is a sheer invention that was found to be necessary by the Pharisaic authors in the period of intense Jewish particularism, in order to foster their doctrine of the duty of separation from all Gentile relations.

If, then, three of the women are regarded as Gentiles, there is some antecedent probability that Bathsheba was grouped with them in the Evangelist's view either of her Gentile origin or association. Passing over, however, occasional claims of Old Testament indications that she was a foreign woman, the Evangelist's avoidance of her name, and instead of it his description of her as the wife of Uriah, *i.e.* the Hittite, associates her in any case with a man of heathen blood, and in view of this association he may not unreasonably have grouped her with the three women who were undoubtedly heathen.

If this view of their heathenism merits consideration, then their unexpected admission to Israel's highest privileges admirably serves the writer's recognized purpose in advocating the universalism of the gospel, or, to adopt Allen's suggestive sub-title for our Matthew, in showing the gospel to be "the power of God unto salvation — to the Jew first and also to the Greek."[17] It is not strange that he should begin the realization of this purpose in the opening verses of his genealogy, when we find that the genealogy and birth are followed by the homage of the heathen Magi and by the return from Egypt to half-heathen Galilee; that he records the Baptist's declaration of God's ability to raise up descendants of Abraham from the stones of the Jordan; and so on and on from Christ's praise of the faith of the heathen cen-

[15] 41. 1. [16] *Judah*, 10.

[17] Cp. Nicolardot, p. 112: "Son regard se meut, à l'aise, des lointains mosaïques à la conclusion des temps; des bourgades de Galilée jusqu'aux bornes du monde. Il n'a pas inventé l'universalisme chrétien, mais il l'a aimé et compris. Il l'a justifié même, par tout son œuvre, en montrant, dans l'apostolat de toutes les nations, l'expansion nécessaire d'un mouvement libérateur, que la Judée, trop étroite, trop fermée, ne pouvait désormais capter ni contenir."

turion and of the Syro-phœnician woman, and his prophecy of the many from the east and west reclining with the patriarchs in the kingdom, and his favorable declarations concerning heathen Sodom and Gomorrah, Tyre and Sidon and Nineveh, as contrasted with the Jewish cities of his own time; and from the closing parables of the extension of the kingdom beyond Israel to the climax in the commission to make disciples of all nations.

This theory of our Matthew's advocacy of universalism by pointing to the history of the four Old Testament women might be further supported by a detailed comparison in the rest of the New Testament of the related methods of treating the subject; of the similar lines of reasoning; and in some cases of the very close parallels of illustration. The universalism of Rom. 9–11 likewise begins with a genealogical reference. In the first generation of descent from Abraham even the line of direct inheritance is shown to be not according to flesh; and in the second generation is seen to be not according to works, but according to the free election of God who calls both Jews and Gentiles in fulfillment of the very bold Old Testament predictions of heathen admission and engrafting into God's Israel. We have also in James and Hebrews the similar use of the history of Abraham and of Rahab to express the truth of the equal justification of the Father of the Faithful and of the Gentile sinner. A complete comparative study of all the New Testament treatment of the topics of Gentile admission into the kingdom would enable us to discriminate with considerable accuracy both the definite stages of their admission, and also of the historic and logical development of the relevant New Testament teaching. The result of such study would clearly contribute to the dating of several New Testament writings. Even the character of the Evangelist's reference to the women, on the view advocated, might be a factor in determining the stage of universalism represented in our First Gospel, and thereby contribute to the discussion of its early date recently advocated by Harnack and Allen.

The theory proposed must at present be submitted with-

out this detailed discussion, but with the closing reminder that in its favor is the fact that it includes and organizes the elements of truth in the other theories. These Old Testament instances of Gentile incorporation are sinners or idolaters in so far as being Gentiles they are stained with what to the Jews are the characteristic and representative sins of the Gentiles. They have become sharers in the Messianic hope, not as types of Mary, but as historic instances of God's eternal purpose to call all nations. They are *skandala* in the Old Testament history, not as types of the *skandalon* of the Virgin Birth, but as illuminations of what at first was the *skandalon* of Gentile admission to the Church, but was at length seen to be the mystery of the gospel—that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, concorporate and co-sharers of the promise in Christ Jesus by the gospel.

The Relation of Mark to the Source Q

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A Reply to Mr. B. H. Streeter's Paper in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*

MANY years ago Bernard Weiss presented his view that the evangelist Mark was dependent on an *Apostolic Source* which corresponds roughly to what is designated now the Source Q. For a long time this theory was very slow in winning support, but surely it is gaining adherents rapidly enough to-day. From all quarters they come. Dr. Stanton's recent protest is being drowned in a chorus of assent. The Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem, published last year, is the latest addition to the cohorts on Dr. Weiss's side. Mr. N. P. Williams in his paper goes so far as to say that in a general sense the use of Q by the author or final redactor of Mark seems to be now well established. Mr. B. H. Streeter contributes a discussion of the problem which Dr. Sanday regards as "compelling assent." It was difficult to argue with the earlier champions of Mark's use of Q without raising the whole problem of what is meant by the Source Q. Mr. Streeter, however, accepts the very definition of Q which those who oppose this theory have held, "the mass of material common to Matthew and Luke not derivable from Mark." Although he denies any further assumptions in the beginning, he concludes by defining Q as a "single written source." The whole argument shows that he means a source written in Greek. Mr. Streeter attempts to prove that in certain passages where Matthew and Luke evidently had access to a version other than that contained in Mark — where in a word Mark and Q overlapped — "the Q version is not an expansion of the Mark version, but Mark may well

be a mutilation of Q." This certainly strikes at the heart of the problem, and if he has carried his point, then, as Dr. Sanday says, his paper compels assent. But has he done so? I should like to present a few considerations on the other side.

There is at least one case where the two versions overlap, but where the difference is so fundamental that Mr. Streeter makes it an exception. Mark's most extended discourse, ch. 13, he grants, is not derived from Q, but from some apocalypse written about 70 A.D. This judgment has an important bearing on the whole relationship of the two sources. It shows that in their eschatological outlook Mark and Q were radically different. The former shared the apocalyptic hopes of the author of Revelation, the latter condemned all seeking for apocalyptic signs and taught that the future coming of the Lord would be without warning of any sort. If Mark knew Q, he at least abandoned its eschatology. Only the extreme advocates of the eschatological school will deny that Q rather than Mark presents Jesus' own teaching regarding the future. That some trace of this attitude survives in Mk. 13 34-36 is therefore no reason for affirming that Mark is to that extent dependent on Q. Two independent versions of the same saying could hardly be expected to show greater variation than do Mk. 13 34-36 and Lk. 12 37-40 = Mt. 24 42-44. One can only wonder whether they are the same saying at all.[1]

Another passage in which the evidence is clear that Matthew and Luke have a non-Marcan Greek source is the Beelzebul controversy in Mt. 12 22-32 = Lk. 11 14-23. Comparing this Q version with Mk. 3 22-30, Mr. Streeter says that Mark "has such close verbal resemblances in what it has in common with Q, and loses so much force by what it omits from Q that we can only regard it as a mutilated excerpt from that source." It is easy to see how one might come to such a conclusion by simply comparing Mk. 3 22-30 with Mt. 12

[1] The reminiscence of the parable of the talents which Mr. Streeter finds especially in the use of ἀπόδημος loses all weight when one notes that Mark himself used ἀποδημέω only a little before in 12 1.

22-32, but before any such comparison with Mark is made, Matthew and Luke must first be examined to see what stood in their source Q. Fortunately, it is unnecessary for me to make this literary examination here. Between the same covers with Mr. Streeter's article is another by Sir John Hawkins, in which, with his usual thoroughness and caution, he discusses this very passage, pp. 45–49. I quote his concluding paragraph:

"These eight observations combine to prove almost irresistibly that Matthew conflated his record of this discourse from two sources, which we have substantially before us in our Luke and Mark. And the insignificance of the only three resemblances which could be found between these two latter, and between them only, *shows with almost equal cogency that up to the time of the employment of them by Matthew, they had been quite independent of one another*, though they embody traditions either of the same controversy or at least of the same class of controversies."

The literary argument against Mr. Streeter's position cannot be put in a more forcible way than Sir John Hawkins has put it, but his discussion needs to be reënforced by a statement of the radical difference in the development of thought. So fundamental is this difference that Dr. Von Soden maintained, in a lecture on this subject, that two different events are here narrated. The charge itself is not the same. In Mark, Jesus is accused of being a demoniac possessed with Beelzebul, in Q it is only said that he drives out demons by the power of Beelzebul. The first argument of Jesus in reply is substantially the same in both, but the presentation very different in form. The second argument of Q is not found in Mark. The third argument shows a striking variation in the two versions. Q's presentation makes the ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ God. The Kingdom of God is contrasted with that of Beelzebul. In Mark, as we should expect from the form of the charge in 3 22, it is Christ who is opposed to Beelzebul. Q concludes its account with the parable of the seven other spirits, Mark with the saying about the unforgivable sin. This Marcan saying, 3 28-30, has its parallel in Lk. 12 10, Q. Must not the divergence between

the two versions here — Mark has *sons of men* where Q has the *Son of Man* — go back to a different understanding of a common Aramaic text or tradition? Where the difference is so great as it is here, the use of a common tradition is more probable than a mere translation change. At any rate, there is no possible reason for thinking that Mark is dependent on the Greek Q. As in the case of the two versions of Jesus' eschatological message, so again in the accounts of this Beelzebul controversy, there is a deep-seated divergence which strengthens our conviction that Mark and Q give two independent embodiments of early apostolic tradition.

Another illustration of this independence occurs in Mk. 8 11-13. To my mind there is a real difficulty in supposing that Mark would have given this saying in its absolute form if he were dependent on the statement in Q, Mt. 12 38 f. = Lk. 11 29 f.

Again let me call attention to Mark's summary of the temptation in 1 12. 13. It implies, no doubt, a knowledge of more than is told; but when one considers how much divergence from Mt. 4 1-11 = Lk. 4 1-13, Q, is compressed into these two verses, he is not likely to attribute this knowledge to the use of that source. First, Mark speaks of the temptation as continuous through the forty days. Q, on the other hand, places it at their close.[2] Mark's reference to being with wild beasts is, as Prof. B. W. Bacon points out, paralleled in Ps. 91 13, the same Psalm which is quoted in Mt. 4 6. But we note that it is in a verse of that Psalm not given by Q and nowhere implied in Q's account. Furthermore, Ps. 91 11. 12 is used in opposite ways in the two versions. The ministering of angels is a temptation in Q which Jesus repels, in Mark it is apparently the indication of his conquest. Surely Q's account did not lie before Mark, but some other detailed version probably did, one in which we may conjecture the 91st Psalm had a larger place. This implies, of course, that behind both accounts is a real historical tradition and not a mere invention of Q.

In these four sections, ch. 13, 3 22-30, 8 11-13, 1 12. 13, we have

[2] Lk. 4 2 conflates both sources. Mt. 4 11 b is also a conflation.

found not only a want of evidence for any literary relationship, but a striking divergence in thought. Here, at least, a theory of dependence has no standing ground. If now Mark had the temptation narrative, the account of the Beelzebul controversy, the report of a demand for signs, and the eschatological message in a form independent of Q, is it not fair to presume that the same will be true in the case of the other points of contact, unless clear proof to the contrary is given?

In no case is the close relation between the two sources more impressive than in the parable of the mustard seed. Sir John Hawkins (p. 51) again points out that Matthew conflates the two sources which are preserved to us by Mark and Luke. A careful comparison of Mark and Q shows noteworthy differences even here. Mark emphasizes the mustard being the smallest of seeds. Q speaks of its becoming a tree upon whose branches the birds can rest. It may be, as Dr. Von Soden has suggested, that their variation is due to familiarity with different varieties of mustard. On the other hand, there are verbal resemblances which command attention. According to the best texts *τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* occurs only here in Mark, but is found elsewhere in Q. The double question with which both Luke and Mark introduce the parable would have weight if we could be more confident that it stood in Q. It occurs also in Lk. 7 31, but there again the parallel account in Matthew omits it. Still it ought to be allowed that we have in the two versions of this parable some verbal similarity.

There is one other extended passage, which can serve as a basis of comparison, the commission to the disciples, Mk. 6 7-11, Mt. 10 1-14, Lk. 9 1-5, 10 1-12. The same line of reasoning which Sir John Hawkins applied to the Beelzebul controversy makes it clear that here again Lk. 10 1-12 preserves most nearly the original form of Q.[3] In this case there is no obvious difference of point of view between the two sources. Q did indeed contain substantially

[3] The introductory setting in 10 1 and the addition in 10 8 f. are doubtful, and one can easily see why Luke should have omitted Mt. 10 5. 6, if they stood in his source.

all that Mark gives, as Mr. Streeter says. But when he adds "in much the same language," a protest must be made. He bases his statement not on Lk. 10 1-12, but on coincident variations of Lk. 9 1 and Mt. 10 1 from Mk. 6 7, and of Lk. 9 5 and Mt. 10 14 from Mk. 6 11. Fortunately, in Mt. 10 1 = Lk. 9 1 it can be shown that the coincident variation must have some other explanation than a common use of Q. That Mt. 9 37. 38 are taken from Q is guaranteed by Lk. 10 2. But *καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς*, Mt. 10 1, is explicable after *τότε λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς*, 9 37, only when we recognize that Matthew is here passing from his source Q to his source Mark. The coincident variations from Mark in Mt. 10 1 ff. and Lk. 9 1-5 cannot be regarded as evidence for a common use of Q, except when they are supported by Lk. 10 1-12. They are on a par with those found elsewhere in Marcan material, and are to be explained in the same way. All verbal resemblance between the two sources then disappears, and at the same time all basis for theories of dependence of Mark on Q.

Besides the more extended passages in which Mark and Q overlap, there are a number of brief, scattered sayings, found in them both. The following list gives the sayings in Mark and the parallels of Matthew and Luke which may belong to Q:

1.	Mk. 4 21	Mt. 5 15	Lk. 11 33
2.	Mk. 4 22	Mt. 10 26 f.	Lk. 12 2 f.
3.	Mk. 4 24	Mt. 7 2	Lk. 6 38
4.	Mk. 4 25	Mt. 25 29	Lk. 19 26
5.	Mk. 8 34	Mt. 10 38	Lk. 14 27
6.	Mk. 8 35	Mt. 10 39	Lk. 17 33
7.	Mk. 8 38	Mt. 10 33	Lk. 12 8. 9
8.	Mk. 9 35	Mt. 23 11	Lk. 22 26
9.	Mk. 9 37	Mt. 10 40	Lk. 10 16
10.	Mk. 9 42	Mt. 18 6. 7	Lk. 17 1. 2
11.	Mk. 9 49. 50	Mt. 5 13	Lk. 14 34. 35
12.	Mk. 10 10-12	Mt. 5 32	Lk. 16 18
13.	Mk. 10 31	Mt. 20 16	Lk. 13 30
14.	Mk. 11 23	Mt. 17 20	Lk. 17 5. 6
15.	Mk. 11 25	Mt. 6 12	Lk. 11 4
16.	Mk. 12 28	Mt. 22 34 f.	Lk. 10 25
17.	Mk. 12 38. 39	Mt. 23 6. 7	Lk. 11 43
18.	Mk. 13 11	Mt. 10 19. 20	Lk. 12 11. 12

Thus summed up, this may seem to be a formidable array of evidence, but closer examination removes much of its cogency. Many of these sayings are of such a proverbial nature as to be of little value in determining written sources. In fact, Nos. 4 and 5 each occur five times in the Gospels, No. 6 occurs six times. Again, the differences are sometimes more striking than the resemblances. In Nos. 2, 7, 15, the difference between Mark and Q is so great as to point the argument against the dependence of one on the other. In Nos. 6, 8, 11, the parallels in Matthew and Luke differ so widely that it is hard to tell what, if anything, stood in Q. What verbal resemblance there is between Mark and Matthew in Nos. 9, 14, 18, is due to the influence of Mark on Matthew. It is not supported by Luke. Regarding No. 3, it is an unnatural, artificial hypothesis to say with Mr. Streeter that Mk. 4 24 is a conflation of Lk. 6 38 and 12 31. The fact that the parallels in Mt. 6 33 and 7 2 are near together does not help in the least, unless Matthew's sequence be accepted as that of Q. This, Mr. Streeter himself denies in his refutation of Harnack, pp. 160 ff. That No. 16 stood in Q is a very doubtful conjecture, but it is included here for the sake of completeness. Speaking of No. 17, Mr. Streeter says that Mk. 12 38-40 "looks like a reminiscence of the long denunciation in Q." But what are the facts? Mk. 12 38-40 consists of two charges, one of which, 12 40, is not found in Q at all, and the other Mark gives in a distinctive, expanded form.

The evidence from these scattered passages narrows down to this — that Mark and Q had in common a number of sayings substantially alike. No direct relationship has been established in these passages, except on the assumption which Dr. Stanton has condemned, that any sayings in substance the same must have come from the same Greek document. To this list of parallel sayings ought perhaps to be added Mk. 1 7. 8, Mt. 3 11, Lk. 3 16. That this stood in both Mark and Q should be granted, but it ought also to be remembered that this is the one message of the Baptist which would deeply concern all Christians from the beginning. Just how

great was the difference between Mark and Q here, we can no longer measure on account of the influence of Mark on Matthew and Luke. It is at least possible that while Mark spoke of a baptism with the spirit, Q spoke only of a baptism with fire. Mark's description of John the Baptist (Mk. 1 1-6) is, in truth, consistent with what Q tells about John, and his account is brief and condensed, as Mr. Streeter says. But is this reason for thinking that he must have known Q?

A word ought to be added about another class of passages which is well represented by Mk. 9 43-48. Matthew gives this saying twice. It is common to explain the doublet by assigning Mt. 5 29. 30 to Q. An outstanding objection to such an explanation is the improbability that Luke would omit this saying if it stood in both of his main sources. Moreover, it must be recognized that the occurrence of doublets in Matthew is no proof of the presence of two sources. Sir John Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*[2], pp. 81 ff., states the possibility of the occasional use of the same source twice over in Matthew, but he does not develop the suggestion. The situation of Mk. 3 7-12 is not merely given in Mt. 12 15-21; it is also anticipated in Mt. 4 23-25. In this case there can hardly be any question of different sources. Even so, in the introduction to the sending out of the twelve, 9 35. 36, Matthew has repeated what he had in 4 23 = Mk. 1 39, and anticipated Mk. 6 34, which is given again in its Marcan context, 14 14. In these instances no looking through Mark and copying of these passages is to be supposed. The First Gospel shows a mastery of its material which makes any such supposition unnecessary. Mr. Streeter is certainly right when he says that Matthew knew his sources almost by heart.

A similar case occurs in 10 40. Familiar with the form of this saying in Mk. 9 37, he preferred that to the Q version of the same saying, Lk, 10 16, and thus anticipated what needed to be repeated in 18 5 = Mk. 9 37. Sir John Hawkins has proposed a similar explanation of the doublets 12 33-37 and 7 16 ff. The theory of separate sources, in this instance, is made particularly improbable by the fact that 12 33-37, and not 7 16 ff., stands in the closest verbal relation to Lk. 6 43 ff.

So, also, Mt. 11 24 repeats 10 15. This repetition is due, no doubt, to the fact that Matthew has separated two Q passages which originally stood together. Sir John Hawkins is probably right in explaining Mt. 9 32-34 = Mt. 12 22-24, in the same way.

With these examples before us, surely we are justified in preferring to believe that Matthew has used Mk. 9 43 ff. twice over, adapting it to the different contexts, rather than to suppose that Luke omitted a passage which stood in his two principal sources. We must remember that Matthew was concerned in making his great discourses as complete as possible. To that end he was willing to sacrifice much narrative material, and to repeat sayings already used.

This point has been set forth in some detail because it explains another passage often used as a basis for theories of Mark's dependence on Q. I refer to Mt. 10 17-22 (23?). This did not stand in Q at all. It is an anticipation of Mk. 13 9 b-13 which is repeated freely in 24 9-14. The following table makes this clear:

Mt. 9 37-10 16	Mk. 6 6 b-13	and Lk. 10 1-12
Mt. 10 17-22 (23?)	Mk. 13 9 b-13	
Mt. 10 (24. 25) 26-33		Lk. 12 2-9
Mt. 10 34-36		Lk. 12 51-53
Mt. 10 37. 38		Lk. 14 25-27
(Mt. 10 39		Lk. 17 33)

Mr. Streeter himself (pp. 160 ff.) has pointed out that in ch. 10 Matthew read through Q for sayings that belonged under this theme and put them down one by one as he came across them without rearrangement. It ought to be recognized that he used Mark in the same way, adding Mk. 13 9 b-13 after Mk. 6 6 b-11. Mt. 10 23 may well have stood in Matthew's text of Mark and been omitted afterwards. One sentence only of this passage had a parallel in Q, Mk. 13 11 = Lk. 12 11. 12. Accordingly Matthew omitted this verse at the close of Lk. 10 2-12 because he had already used its equivalent from Mark. If I have given a correct presentation of Matthew's method, one of the strong arguments for Mark's use of Q loses its force.

A word now in conclusion. We found in a number of the passages in which Mark and Q overlap a difference so deep-seated as to argue against any dependence of one on the other. We found no instance where the resemblance is so close as to be inconsistent with the independence of the two traditions, nor has Mr. Streeter shown such an instance. The only assumption which needs to be made is that we have to do here with real sayings of Jesus, and that in 75 A.D. all knowledge of these sayings was not limited to one Greek document. For these reasons I cannot accept the Q.E.D. with which Dr. Sanday has stamped Mr. Streeter's paper, and I ask for a reconsideration. Mr. Streeter's attempt makes it clear — does it not? — that the burden of the argument for a dependence of Mark on Q must rest where Bernhard Weiss put it, on the coincident variations of Matthew and Luke in distinctively Marcan material. It was interesting to see how Mr. Streeter fell back on the same line of approach as in his use of Lk. 9 1-5 and of Mk. 1 2 f. When, with the majority of modern scholars, this argument is rejected or at least minimized, the whole case loses its cogency. The points of contact between Mark and Q which can be clearly traced do not show a dependence of the former on the latter. Such dependence does confessedly become more plausible when an Aramaic original of Q is substituted for the Greek manuscript. In nearly every case the Q form of the tradition seems more primitive and original than that of Mark. Wellhausen's attempt to reverse the relationship was a failure. It is this that gives force to such discussions as those of B. W. Bacon, Wendling, and Nicolardot, in which they try to show how the latter version grew out of the former. But granting that in many cases Mark is secondary in relation to Q, even granting that Mark used written sources for this material, it does not follow that he used Q. The two sources are so fundamentally different, the material they both give is so manifestly a part of the common heritage in those early days of oral tradition when written records were just beginning to be made, that any direct relation between the sources seems improbable.

The Vocabulary of Luke and Acts

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IT would seem as though almost every possible experiment and investigation as to the relations between Acts and the Gospel of Luke must have been made, but the statistics of Lucan vocabulary seem never to have been minutely and comprehensively dealt with. Such aspects of New Testament vocabulary have not indeed been wholly neglected, although not all that has been claimed in this direction has actually been accomplished. Nestle in his Introduction (Edie's translation, 1901), p. 48, says, "Graux has counted not only the words but the letters in the various books." But the references Nestle gives in support of this statement (*Revue de Philologie*, ii., and Zahn, *Geschichte*, i., 76) do not even suggest that Graux counted the words, and show that his count of letters laid no claim to precision: "comptons, avec une approximation suffisante, le nombre des lettres," p. 98; "Évangile selon St. Mathieu calculé à 89,295 lettres" (p. 118), and similarly of the other books of the New Testament. Nestle's remark would seem to be doubly misleading. His reference to the statistics given in Schaff's *Companion*, pp. 57, 176, is open to the same criticism, for Professor Schaff does not claim to have counted the number of words in the Synoptic Gospels, but only to have estimated them. A more accurate statement on the matter is found in M. W. Adams's monograph on St. Paul's Vocabulary (Hartford, 1895), p. 28, where statistics are given compiled by J. Ritchie Smith (*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Oct., 1891). Mr. Smith's figures, which seem to be exclusive of proper names, are as follows:

	WHOLE NUMBER	TOTAL VOCABULARY	PECULIAR WORDS
Luke	35,239	2697	715
Paul	31,457	2446	797
John	27,185	1396	212
Matthew	17,921	1542	111
Mark	10,720	1259	77

These figures of Mr. Smith's seem to be the results of counts, not of estimates, and are of some weight for that reason. They are disappointing to the critical student, however, because they do not distinguish between Luke and Acts, between the pastorals and the ten letters of the primary Pauline canon, or even between the Revelation and the Fourth Gospel.

With the generous aid of my friend, Rev. A. R. Stark, Ph.D., I have recently undertaken a modest experiment in the study of Lucan vocabulary, our premise being that if Acts and the Third Gospel are from the same hand they should exhibit a considerable common base of vocabulary. Our statistics are made up from a careful page-by-page examination of Geden's *Concordance*, which we have treated as a somewhat objective standard. We have, however, added *καί* and *δέ*, disregarded different forms of the same word, and different uses of it (*e.g.* *εἰ μή*, *οὐ μή*), and we have included proper names. While our figures represent repeated recounts, we present them not as final, since there is room for wide difference of view as to what constitutes a word, but as on the whole presenting a fair proportionate view of the vocabulary phenomena of Acts and Luke's Gospel.

The Gospel of Luke contains 2080 different words, Acts 2054. Luke and Acts use in common 1014. A further count, strictly unnecessary, but undertaken as a partial check upon the first, shows the total vocabulary of Luke and Acts together (including every word used in either or both) to be 3120 (Mr. Smith's figure, 2697, is exclusive of proper names). Nearly half the words in Luke are thus shared with Acts, and nearly half those in Acts are common to Luke.

It is natural to inquire whether this is a large proportion of common vocabulary, or whether any other document might not relate itself to Acts much as Luke has done in this par-

ticular. To satisfy ourselves on this point we have chosen the Gospel of Matthew, a document of very little less extent than Luke (68 pp. in Westcott-Hort, as against 72), dealing with the same general matters, and based largely upon the same sources with Luke. We find that Matthew has a vocabulary of 1711 words, of which 845 are common to Acts.

Luke exhibits	2080	different	words
Acts "	2054	"	"
Luke and Acts share	1014	"	"
Luke or Acts or both exhibit	3120	"	"
Matthew exhibits	1711	"	"
Matthew and Acts share	845	"	"

The first impression of these figures is perhaps disappointing. Irrespective of any theory of the relation of Luke and Acts, based on other considerations, a more decided showing in one direction or another might have been hoped for. But it appears that Matthew, like Luke, shares slightly less than half its vocabulary with Acts. In this aspect the inquiry is not particularly suggestive. Upon closer inspection, however, it appears that Luke is much nearer Acts than is Matthew in the range of its vocabulary. It does not essentially reduce the force of this to recall that much of this excess of vocabulary is proper names, for a large use of proper names is as individual a characteristic as a large use of common nouns. One man in telling a story will give no names, another will name everybody. It is worth noticing, further, that while the common vocabulary base of Matthew and Acts is 845, that of Luke and Acts is 1014, or 20 per cent larger. From both points of view, therefore, these results tend to ally Luke with Acts in actual vocabulary exhibited.

But whatever inferences may be drawn from them, and of course no large claims are to be made for the argument from mere range and identity of vocabulary, unsupported by other facts, these figures are offered here as a contribution to the materials of Lucan criticism, and with the hope that, if they are not sufficient to justify any very striking generalizations, they may at least prevent unguarded ones on the matter of Lucan vocabulary.

Some Phases of the Synoptic Problem

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IN his volume on "The Sayings of Jesus," Harnack remarks that "if the criticism of the Gospels had been carried on methodically, so that each author stood, as it were, upon the shoulders of his predecessor, this cardinal problem" — the literary relationship of Q to St. Mark — "would necessarily have been thoroughly discussed long ago, the whole material for discussion would have been set in order and the definite and final conclusion would have been drawn." No doubt there is occasion enough to regret that in this and in other fields scholars have not thus moved forward step by step, but have both turned back to do amiss the things that were already well done, and even more frequently rushed ahead to do last things first. Yet in the face of Harnack's warning and of the danger of repeating the first of these two mistakes, I am constrained at this time to inquire whether the fundamental questions of the Synoptic Problem have been so fully and finally settled that the accepted answers can be unquestioningly used as the basis of further work, and whether in particular the accepted doctrine does not perhaps tend to ignore some data which are nearly or quite as important as those which have received much more attention.

I must at the outset, however, disclaim any purpose to undertake a thorough discussion of the Synoptic Problem, or to bring forward any revolutionary theory. I am in agreement with the current view in recognizing the depend-

ence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark, and immediately or ultimately upon at least one other common source. Most of what I shall have to say, moreover, in the direction of further defining or supplementing the current view, has already been said at one time or another. My task is, therefore, the humble and simple one of directing fresh attention to certain quite obvious facts respecting the Synoptic Gospels and making some not altogether new suggestions respecting the wisdom of reconsidering certain commonly accepted theses, and perhaps of modifying somewhat the customary way of approaching our problem.

The questions that I wish particularly to raise are, *first*, whether, the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark being accepted, the second common source of the gospels is entitled to the place of preëminence which is commonly given to it, whether, in fact, there was not at least one other source which was of equal or almost equal importance with that which is now commonly called Q; *second*, whether, in the determination of the contents of the non-Marcan common source, the criterion of presence of material in both the first and third gospels has not usually been given undue weight; *third*, whether it is not possible to discover two common sources rather than one, with at least approximate definition of the content of each; and *fourth*, whether the matter of the sources of the immediate sources of our synoptic gospels does not demand even more attention than it has received: in other words, whether there is not reason to affirm, and whether it would not facilitate further study of the Synoptic Problem to recognize that our present gospels of Matthew and Luke represent not the second, but at least the third generation of gospel writings, and that accordingly our task of investigation falls into two clearly defined stages, *first*, the discovery of the immediate ancestors of the present gospels, and *then* the search for the sources of the former.

In the endeavor to throw some light upon these questions, the method of approach which most commends itself to me is by way of observation of the way in which Matthew and Luke make use of their common source Mark. In this case

we have both the original material, approximately at least in its original form, and the finished product. Comparison of these with one another cannot fail to disclose some facts at least respecting the method of work of the two later evangelists. And the insight thus gained into their two workshops ought to be of value to us in the endeavor to discover the other material with which they worked, but which exists for us only as an element of their finished products. Moreover, in so far as we are able from the practically identical portions of Matthew and Luke to restore a second common source of the gospels, we may, in a measure, use the same method in reference to this as in respect to Mark, and so still further add to our knowledge of the methods which the evangelists severally followed. In this study of method, matters intrinsically of little importance may be of great value. In fact, the more we keep clear at the outset of such important matters as the doctrinal tendency and specific purpose of the gospels, the more likely perhaps are we to get a clear view of the way in which our authors handled their material. Order of arrangement is, of course, of far less importance for certain purposes, as *e.g.* the history of doctrine, than doctrinal color, whether of sources or of resultant gospels. But as a clue to lead us into the literary method of the evangelists, and so eventually to the literary process by which our gospels were produced, it may be even safer to follow and in the end more valuable than considerations of doctrinal tendency; the latter indeed are rather to be arrived at as the result of our process than used as criteria at the beginning.

To begin then with some elementary and perfectly familiar matters:—

1. If it be granted that Mark, either in its present form or with approximately similar content, was a source of Matthew and Luke, it is also evident *first* that they had one or more non-Marcan sources in common, and *second* that each of them used some material either not accessible to the other or neglected by the other.

2. Respecting the method in which Matthew and Luke

severally used these sources, the following propositions may be regarded as established with a high degree of probability.

a. Luke has a strong predilection for following the order of his documents. The presumption, which may of course be overcome by sufficient counter evidence, is that the order of Luke is approximately the order of his sources.

b. Matthew is less careful to follow the order of his sources. He does not hesitate to sacrifice that order to a topical arrangement of his own.

c. Luke is averse to the inclusion of similar narratives which are open to the suspicion of being duplicate accounts of the same event.

d. Matthew is less averse to duplication, but on the other hand has a tendency to condense narratives, and to omit or shorten narrative introductions to discourse material.

e. Neither evangelist hesitates to modify the language of his source to improve its literary quality, or to make it give a representation of Jesus more in accordance with the evangelist's ideal of his character and teaching. Yet the degree of similarity that exists between the Matthean and Lucan reports of the teaching of Jesus, whether derived from Mark or from the common source, makes it improbable that either of them would depart very widely either in substance or in literary form, except in the matter of order, from the source before him. A large measure of difference between single literary units presumably originally identical, say the narrative of an event or a parable, creates a probability that the authors dealt with different sources which themselves had a common source, documentary or real.

3. If these positions are reasonable, it follows that for those narratives and teachings which are common to Matthew and Luke, and sufficiently alike to make it probable that they came immediately from the same source, there is no more probable arrangement than that in which they appear in Luke, and that wide diversity in form, especially if accompanied by difference of position, points not to identity but to non-identity of immediate source.

Now it happens that the material in Luke which is also to

be found in Matthew, but which does not come from Mark, is found with very slight exception, if any, between 3 1 and 19 28. If the principle above stated is correct, the presumption is that all the non-Marcan material which appears in Lk. 3 1–19 28, and is also found in Matthew, whether in corresponding or different position, stood in the source in the Lucan order. The first step, therefore, toward obtaining the non-Marcan source of Matthew and Luke is simply to omit the Marcan material from Lk. 3 1–19 28.[1]

A very noticeable fact respecting this material is that it appears in Luke in large blocks. Especially noteworthy is the Mark-free character of the material from 9 51–19 28. Mark, chap. 10, is manifestly the source of 18 15-43. But with this exception the only parallels to Mark in the ten chapters of Lk. 9 51–19 28 are a portion of the passage concerning casting out demons by Beelzebul, the parable of the mustard seed, and a few short aphorisms, — 35 verses in all according to Sir John Hawkins. The attempt to set apart the non-Marcan material in the corresponding chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, viz., 3–20, issues in a very different result. Instead of its occurring in a few large blocks, it is found in some 40 separate pieces, of which the only ones that reach or exceed the length of a chapter are those in the sermon on the mount and the eleventh chapter.[2]

This difference between Matthew and Luke, the former breaking up and the latter massing the material taken over from the sources, — for in a measure this difference holds in the case of material taken from Mark also, — is further evidence that it is Luke rather than Matthew who has followed the order of the non-Marcan source, as he manifestly has

[1] This would yield substantially the following: 3 1. 2. 7-15. 17. 18. 23-38, 4 2 b-30, 5 1-11, 6 20-8 3, 9 51-18 14, 19 1-28.

[2] The list is as follows: 3 7-10. 12. 14. 15, 4 3-11. 13-16, 5 1-28, 5 31-6 14, 6 16-7 27, 8 5-13. 19-22, 9 37. 38, 10 6-8 b. 12. 13. 15. 16. 23-25. 27-32, 11 1-30, 12 5-7. 11. 12. 17-25 a. 27. 28. 30. 33-45, 13 14-17. 24-30. 35-53, 14 28-31. 33, 15 12-14. 23. 24. 30. 31, 16 17-19, 17 6. 7. 13. 24-27, 18 4. 10. 15-34, 19 10-12. 27 b. 28, 20 1-16. But very short Marcan passages occurring in the midst of passages included in this list, and very short non-Marcan passages occurring between them have been ignored, thus in both cases diminishing the *number* of separate non-Marcan passages.

that of Mark. For an author who breaks up a source to interpolate it into another document will easily, of course, depart from the order in the process of interpolation; but an author who retains his material in large blocks will be unlikely to transpose sections within the limits of those blocks. That he might transpose even in the latter case under the influence of a desire to secure a topical or logical or even a chronological order is of course true. But this consideration only strengthens the argument in favor of believing that it is Luke and not Matthew who has preserved the order of their common source or sources; for it is impossible to discover in Luke's great interpolation any intention to arrange matters in a topical order, or to improve the chronology of the source, while it is transparently evident that Matthew is influenced by an effort after topical arrangement in the location of practically all the material which he has in common with Luke's non-Marcan source.

There is still further evidence of Luke's respect for the order of his source document in his way of making use of that document, whatever it was, which he used alongside of Mark, as a source for his 3 1–9 50. While the narratives common to Mark and Luke are almost without exception in the same order in both gospels, on the other hand, in those instances in which Luke omits Mark's account of an event and uses one drawn mainly from a different source, he also gives it a different position. The narratives of the Calling of the Four, and of the Rejection at Nazareth, illustrate this point. The simplest explanation of this changed position is that Luke is following the order of the source from which the preferred account is drawn.

4. But let this suffice for questions of order. Consider again the material in Lk. 3 1–19 28, and in the corresponding portion of Matthew, viz., chaps. 3–20, with reference to the non-Marcan source, or sources. In Lk. 3 1–19 28 is to be found all the material (except perhaps 22 28-30) which Matthew and Luke derived from their non-Marcan common source, or sources. But here is also considerable non-Marcan material, which is not common because not used by Matthew,

and in Matthew, chaps. 3–20, there is a considerable amount of material not used by Luke. These facts obviously raise two questions. *First*, Has Luke omitted anything from the common source which Matthew used? If so, this would account for the material peculiar to Matthew. *Second*, Has Luke, or some one preceding him, added something to the common source? If so, this would account for Matthew's omission of material included in Luke; in other words, for Luke's peculiar material. But an inspection of Lk. 3 1–19 28 also raises a third question. Has Luke combined two or more sources, not by mutual interpolation, but by placing them in succession?

a. The last question may best be considered first. Let it be noted in the first place that Lk. 9 51 evidently constitutes a sort of boundary post in the third gospel. At this point the evangelist clearly marks a change in the geographical location and general point of view of Jesus' ministry, introducing a period which extends to 19 28 inclusive. But it is of much more importance for our present purpose to observe the differences in Matthew's way of using material found also in Luke, corresponding to the difference of location in Luke. Of non-Marcan material standing in Luke after 19 28 Matthew makes no use, with the possible exception of Lk. 22 28-30, to which there is a parallel in Mt. 19 28. The non-Marcan material previous to Lk. 9 51 which occurs also in Matthew is found in the corresponding portion of Matthew's gospel. But respecting the non-Marcan material which is found in Lk. 9 51–19 28 and also in Matthew quite the reverse is true. Although Matthew uses a large amount of this material, often in form almost identical with that of Luke, it never appears in Matthew between the points corresponding to Lk. 9 51 and 19 28, but always either in the Galilean period or the Jerusalem ministry. In other words, up to the beginning of his Perean period, Matthew makes use of Mark, and of a source or sources which he shares with Luke (much of this standing in Luke in what we may for convenience call also his Perean period), and has also much material peculiar to himself; the same is true after this

period except that here the material which he shares with Luke is *all* Perean in Luke; but in the Perean period he has only Marcan material and material peculiar to himself. These facts are easily accounted for if Matthew had before him separately two sources also used by Luke, the one containing material now found in Luke between 3 1 and 9 50, the other containing material now found in Luke 9 51–19 28, but with no indication in them that they covered successive periods of the ministry of Jesus. They are very difficult to account for otherwise; for in neither gospel is there anything to explain why, if Matthew had the material in one document with indication of the boundary line at Luke 9 51, or in two documents, with indication of the period to which each belonged, he should so studiously have disregarded the intimations of his sources. The evidence, therefore, indicates that the non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke found now in Luke between 3 1 and 19 28 was, in Matthew's hands at least, not in one document but in two;[3] that Luke blended one of them with the Marcan account of the Galilean ministry, adding the other and interpolating into it Mark's account of the last journey to Jerusalem; that Matthew on the other hand used both of them to enrich and illustrate discourses which he set into his account of the Galilean ministry of Jesus; but when he reached Mark's comparatively brief account of the journey to Jerusalem (Mark, chap. 10), he employed beside Mark only a source peculiar to himself, unless perhaps the material of 19 10-12 and 20 1-16 was, though not used by Luke, found in one of the common sources above named.

b. Having answered the last question first, we may now proceed to the second one. Was Luke's form of the common sources more extensive than Matthew's, or did he perhaps have an additional document which Matthew did not pos-

[3] I waive the question whether these two came into Luke's hands also as separate documents or already combined into one. It need hardly be added that when I speak of common material as being found in a certain portion of Luke or Matthew, I mean to convey no implication as to whether the form of Matthew or of Luke is the more original. This is a wholly distinct matter.

sess? In other words, must something be subtracted from Luke's sources to recover that which Matthew used?

Respecting the document which Matthew and Luke both used for the Galilean period, there is no strong reason to think that Luke had a longer form than Matthew. The material used by him and omitted by Matthew is neither so large in amount nor so different in quality from that which has been taken up by both as to call for the supposition of another distinct source or of addition from floating tradition. Omission by Matthew is in this case an adequate explanation, and of course, the simplest.

In respect to the document which Luke used in his Perean period, the much larger amount of the material not used by Matthew and the character of it more strongly suggests a difference between the sources used by Luke and Matthew. Little stress can be laid upon Matthew's omission of the narrative introductions found in Luke. This is in accordance with Matthew's tendency, as shown in his treatment of material taken over from Mark. If, having accepted Mark as his chief source for narrative and his chief controlling source for order, he did not hesitate to abbreviate the narratives and narrative introductions in this source, he would be still more likely to omit narrative elements of a document which he was employing as an enriching rather than a principal source. But when all this narrative material has been set aside, there remain not far from 150 verses for the omission of which by Matthew there is less obvious reason.[4] Indeed, a considerable part of it would seem to have been very congenial to his point of view and purpose. The presence in Luke of such passages as the good Samaritan, the Galileans slain by Pilate, the lost coin, the prodigal son, the reproof of the pharisees for avarice, the pharisee and the publican, is rather surprising on the hypothesis that these sections were in a document which Matthew and Luke used in common.

[4] Approximately the following: 9 51-56. 61. 62, 10 35-42, 11 5-8. 27. 28, 12 13-21. 35-38. 47. 48, 13 1-17, 15 8-32, 16 1-12. 14. 15. 19-31, 18 1-14, 19 1-10. But it is obviously impossible to draw a line with certainty between what Matthew possessed and did not possess.

The evidence is not decisive, but if these sections were not in the document which Matthew used, then the quantity of this non-Matthean material which Luke has incorporated in his Perean section, and its literary character, make it probable that we have to do with two documents, of which Matthew had but one. Whether Luke possessed the two separately and himself combined them, or whether they were before him already combined, is like the question referred to above, whether for him the Galilean and non-Galilean documents had been combined, a matter of minor consequence on which I know of no decisive evidence.

c. We come then to the question whether Luke has omitted any of the material in the sources which he used in common with Matthew. This question may be subdivided into two. Did Luke and Matthew both omit any material in their common sources? Did Luke omit material which Matthew retained? The second of these questions may be put in another form: Was the material which is peculiar to Matthew, or any considerable part of it, in the source used also by Luke, and was it therefore omitted by him, or did Matthew derive it from a source or sources not drawn upon by Luke?

The first question is chiefly of speculative interest since *ex-hypothesi* we no longer possess the material in question in any form. The analogy of the use of Mark by Matthew and Luke would, however, suggest the probability that the non-Marcan source also contained some material which neither of the evangelists took over. Moreover, there is a little indirect but positive evidence that points in the same direction. Mention has previously been made of the evidence that Luke preserved the order of the material taken from his second Galilean source. But if so, since order is a relative matter, consisting in standing before or after something else, it is suggested that, beside the two events of which Luke preferred the account given in the second source to that of Mark, the former contained other sections, which Luke omitted indeed, preferring the Mark narrative, but which, being parallel accounts of events recorded in Mark, served the purpose of determining the position, in relation

to the Mark narrative, of those sections which he took over from this second source. The argument is manifestly not decisive, but if the conclusion is in fact correct, it may serve to explain certain minor peculiarities of the Lucan version of sections evidently derived mainly from Mark.

As concerns the possibility of a special source of the material peculiar to Matthew, it is pertinent to note first the position of the material. Previous to Matt. 3 1, which corresponds to Lk. 3 1, there is no material which is found also in Mark or Luke. Subsequent to the end of chapter 25, which corresponds to the end of Luke's chapter 21, there is no material (if we except a sentence or two of doubtful textual authority) which is common to Matthew and Luke except what comes from Mark. In other words, the non-Marcan material that is found in the first two and last three chapters of Matthew is from sources peculiar to Matthew. It may be added that all this peculiar material is either narrative or clearly editorial in character, and evidently of relatively late origin. Of this material little need be said at this point. But when we come into the body of the gospel, in which we find, alongside of the Marcan material, much also which is common to Matthew and Luke only, we find in addition much that is peculiar to Matthew. It is difficult to state the exact amount of this latter, but it may be approximately estimated at 230 verses. Some of it is merely editorial comment, requiring no source to account for it. Some of it, chiefly narrative, is so similar in character to the peculiar material in chapters 1, 2, and 26–28 as to suggest, not indeed identity of documentary source, but similar origin. But besides this there remains a still larger amount of material, consisting of sayings and discourses, sometimes with brief narrative introductions or connective tissue, which is homogeneous in character and very similar in general type to the discourse material which is common to Matthew and Luke. It amounts to approximately 150 verses,[5] or about

[5] The list is approximately as follows: Matt. 5 4. 7-10. 13 a. 14. 16. 17. 19-24. 27. 28. 33-39 a. 41. 43, 6 1-6. 16-18. 34, 7 6. 15. 22, 10 5. 6. 8 b. 41, 11 28-30, 12 5-7. 11. 12 a. 34 a. 36. 37, 13 24-30. 44-48. 51. 52, 15 12-14, 18 4. 10. 14. 23-34, 20 1-15, 21 28-32, 22 1-10, 23 2. 3. 5. 7 b-10. 15-22. 24. 28. 32, 24 10-12, 25 1-13. With these passages may be in-

six-sevenths of the amount of non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke. If this material was in the non-Marcan source common to Matthew and Luke, it was a very important portion of it, being, as already stated, nearly equal in extent to the material which is identifiable as in the common source by the fact that it is in both the gospels. If it was not in the common source, then alike by its length and its character it is entitled to careful consideration as a source of scarcely less importance than the common source or sources of Matthew and Luke. Against the supposition that Matthew derived this material from various sources is its general homogeneity. We lack, of course, the definite criterion of its use by two gospels in substantially the same form, which in the case of the material common to Matthew and Luke enables us to establish the existence of one or more sources of definite content. But intrinsically there is no more reason to think in this case of scattered bits of material gathered from various sources than there is in the case of the common sources of Matthew and Luke. And the facts about the common sources having established, what indeed Luke distinctly affirms for his time, that in Matthew's time also there were various gospel documents in existence, there is the less reason for falling back in this case on the hypothesis of *disjecta membra*. On the other hand, against the hypothesis that this material was in any of the sources used in common by Matthew and Luke, is its extent and Luke's habit in respect to his sources. If Luke had this material, he must have omitted almost as much material as he and Matthew drew in common from their non-Marcan sources, or in other words, nearly as much material as, according to

cluded with greater or less probability a number of others which are omitted from the primary list either because they have partial parallels in Luke and so may come from a common source, or because they are subject to the suspicion of being, in part or in whole, derived from relatively late sources or of being the work of the editor. Here belong 3 14. 15, 5 31. 32, 6 7-13, 7 12 b, 9 13 a, 10 23. 36, 13 36-43. 49. 50, 16 17 b-19 a, 25 14-46. If the hypothesis that the parallels between Lk. 6 20-49 and Matthew, chapters 5–7, are due not to an immediate but a more remote common source is justified, there would be some still further additions to the list.

the common hypothesis, Q contained. This could be rendered probable only by something in the character of the material which would explain why Luke should have wished to omit it. But there is, so far as I can discover, nothing of this character in it.

But these general arguments for a separate and integrate source of discourse material peculiar to Matthew are reënforced by some important though easily overlooked facts as to the way in which Matthew has severally used the material peculiar to himself and the material drawn from the common sources. In his 13th chapter, for example, there is material found also in Mark and Luke, material found also in Luke but not in Mark, and material peculiar to Matthew. More specifically, the parable of the sower, and the basis of the paragraph on the purpose of parables are found also in Mark and Luke, and are doubtless derived by Matthew from Mark. The blessing on those who see and hear what the disciples see and hear is derived from that common source of Matthew and Luke which stands in Luke between 9 51 and 19 28. The interpretation of the parable of the sower is found also in Mark and Luke. Matthew now omits the statement about the lamp under the bushel, etc., found in Mark and Luke at this point, having already used a considerable part of it in his chapters 5, 10, and 11, and inserts the parable of the tares which is peculiar to him. Following this is the parable of the mustard seed, found both in Mark and in the Perean portion of Luke; Matthew, however, has it in conflate form, following Mark mainly but using a phrase or two found in Luke. Now just after this parable as it stands in Luke, chapter 13, comes the parable of the leaven, and this Matthew now introduces in the same position. This done, he brings in the conclusion of this group of parables, which in Mark stands immediately after the parable of the mustard seed, and then adds a quotation from Isaiah. But he is not yet through with his special source, for after introducing the explanation of the parable of the tares, he brings in three parables which are also peculiar to himself, the hid treasure, the pearl of great price, and the dragnet, after

which there stands another conclusion not in either of the identifiable common sources. It seems scarcely possible to doubt that he is here using three sources, Mark, a second common source, and a peculiar source, and that he has taken over the two conclusions which stood in Mark and the peculiar source respectively. The evidence of multiplicity of sources is still clearer in the sermon on the mount. There is, as is well known, a certain amount of material in this discourse which is parallel to Luke 6 20-49 both in thought and, in the main, in order. There is another considerable portion which is peculiar to Matthew, and a third important quantum that is paralleled in Luke outside the discourse of Lk. 6 20-49, all this latter being found in Luke between 9 51 and 19 28. There is a fourth small element, viz., material found in Mark, some of this being also found in Matthew at another place. It is an important fact that all the material which is paralleled in Lk. 6 20-49 and the portion peculiar to Matthew blend into a unified discourse on a single theme, but that all the material which is paralleled in Lk. 9 51–19 28, though on the surface usually seeming to be germane to the connection, appears on further examination to constitute a digression from the theme of the basal discourse. These phenomena suggest one or the other of two processes. The first suggestion is that the evangelist had a document containing Lk. 6 20-49, that he added to it from a source peculiar to himself the germane material, producing the unified basal discourse, to which he then added the less germane material derived from the document which constitutes one of the elements of Lk. 9 51–19 28. The other suggestion is that the evangelist possessed in one of his sources the basal discourse, *i.e.* a discourse parallel to Lk. 6 20-49, but containing also much material peculiar to Matthew, and that his part of the work was simply to add the material from the document now imbedded in Lk. 9 51–19 28. It is certainly in favor of this latter hypothesis that on the other theory the same mind must first have built up a unified discourse out of two elements, and then have marred its unity by the addition of a third. But what I am at present interested to

point out is that in either case the first evangelist must have had two, and probably three, sources beside Mark. On the first hypothesis he had a document, which Luke also possessed and from which he derived his 6 20-49. He must also have had a source peculiar to himself from which he added the germane material which, with the matter from the first source, yielded the unified basal discourse, and finally he must have had a source which Luke used in 9 51–19 28. On the second hypothesis the first evangelist had a source which though akin to Lk. 6 20-49 was not identical with it, and he must have had the third of the sources just named. But we have already seen that he also possessed a source which, in common with Luke, he used alongside of Mark in his Galilean narrative. Now this latter can hardly have been identical with the first-named source, for, unless we would needlessly multiply sources for Luke, we must recognize that the latter contained Lk. 6 20-49, and it could not have contained both forms of this discourse. If it be suggested that this Galilean source, if I may so refer to it, perhaps contained Matthew's basal discourse instead of Lk. 6 20-49, this cannot perhaps be disproved, but the character of that discourse is against it, and in any case the result would be simply to reduce Matthew's sources and increase Luke's with the result of a more complicated and incongruous hypothesis than on the other view.

Similar results would be reached by examining the other built-up discourses in Matthew's gospel, and the total result is to establish a strong probability that Matthew possessed a source peculiar to himself, which contained over 150 verses of discourse material ascribed to Jesus, and included some of the most weighty of the utterances which the synoptic gospels report as coming from him. The only alternative, and on the whole less probable hypothesis, is that these 150 verses belong along with the 175 which are common to Matthew and Luke to a common source of Matthew and Luke, and were omitted by the latter. Some things that still remain to be said will make this latter hypothesis appear still more improbable.

5. Reference has been made at several points to the probability that documents which lay behind our present gospels had, like our gospels themselves, elements of similarity. And, in fact, there is much to suggest that if we could recover the immediate ancestors of our present gospels, we should find that they also would present the same phenomena of resemblance and difference which we find in our present gospels, though the phenomena of resemblance would doubtless appear in much less measure.

To recur to cases already referred to, both Mark and the Perean portion of Luke contain the parable of the mustard seed. That Luke and Mark should both contain it is, of course, nothing strange; but it is quite exceptional that it should stand in Mark's Galilean portion and in Luke's Perean section. The fact that it does so stand, and the fact already mentioned, that Matthew has it, in conflate form in the Marcan position, but immediately followed, as it is in Luke, by the parable of the leaven, strongly suggest the existence of the parable of the mustard seed in two sources.

The case of Luke 6 20-49 compared with the basal discourse in Matthew, chapters 5 to 7, points in the same direction. These two discourses have evidently a common parentage. Yet neither Matthew's habit nor Luke's can explain how the two should diverge so much as they do if the two evangelists had before them the same discourse and nothing more. The more probable hypothesis is that, though they may have both had the Lucan form, or something much like it, Matthew had also a fuller form and one closely resembling the present discourse, minus what one may for brevity call the Perean and Marcan additions.

But there are other instances that have not been referred to. Luke relates both the mission of the Twelve and the mission of the Seventy, evidently drawn from different sources. When he had even in the same source, if perhaps they were both in his edition of Mark, the feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand, he omitted the latter in accordance with his general disposition to avoid apparent duplicates. But apparently the great difference

between the numbers 12 and 70 led him to include both accounts of the sending out of the disciples to preach, though taken from different sources and having much similar material. Matthew, not for the purpose of avoiding duplication, but in accordance with his general plan of building up a few great discourses, each on a single theme, combines the Marcan discourse to the Twelve and the Lucan discourse to the Seventy, adding, as in all such cases, some material peculiar to himself.

If now, in the light of this example, we examine the facts respecting the discourse on casting out demons by Beelezebul, it will be clear that here also we have a case of similar material in two of the immediate sources of our gospels. In Mark, chapter 3, we have an incident of demon expulsion followed by discussion of the power by which Jesus cast out demons. In Luke, chapter 11, is a similar narrative; but it is not at all probable that it came from Mark, for Mark is not here a source for Luke, and Luke's general habit of following the order of his source is against the supposition of transposition. Moreover, Luke contains about four verses quite germane to the context which are not found in Mark. In Matthew's 12th chapter, following his usual impulse, Matthew has a conflate account, blending the story given in Mark with that which appears in Luke's chapter 11. The most reasonable explanation is that Mark and the common source of Matthew and Luke had a similar section on casting out demons; and the same arguments which lead us to predicate common sources of our present gospels, point in this case to a common source of the sources.

The parable of the pounds and the talents furnishes another probable instance. The former stands in Lk. 19 11-28, the latter in Matt. 25 14-30. They are enough alike to suggest a common original, and Matthew may easily have had the source which Luke used in his 19th chapter. But the wide departure of the Matthean form from that found in Luke, so much wider than Matthew customarily allows himself, makes it highly probable that he also had a version of this parable in his peculiar source.

Of single short sayings, which by the same kind of evidence are indicated to have existed in more than one of the immediate sources of our present gospels, many examples could be given. Some of the instances, both longer and shorter, may, of course, be accounted for by the supposition that the common source commonly called Q was a source of Mark. It may be doubted whether this is of itself a sufficient explanation. But what I am seeking now to emphasize is that there are so many and so clear phenomena pointing to sources behind the immediate sources of our gospels, that clearness of thinking requires us to divide the process of discovering the ultimate sources of our gospels into two clearly distinguished stages, — first, the discovery of the immediate sources of our synoptic gospels, with no presumption against the occurrence of duplicates in these sources, and second, the discovery of the sources of the sources. The genealogy of these documents is not so simple as has sometimes been supposed; and we are in danger of missing the true clue by confusing uncles with nephews, and daughters-in-law with mothers-in-law.

These, then, are the propositions which I venture to set forth for the consideration of students of the Synoptic Problem: —

1. The concentration of attention upon Mark and Q as the principal sources of Matthew and Luke to the extent that it is common among writers on the Synoptic Problem is scarcely justified by the facts. The two-document hypothesis has held the center of the stage too long. It should give way to the multiple-document hypothesis.

2. It is more probable that Matthew had a peculiar source for the teaching of Jesus than that the teachings peculiar to his gospel were either in the common sources of Matthew and Luke or existed as *disjecta membra*. This body of material deserves attention as possibly constituting a document inferior to none of the sources of our synoptic gospels in age or value.

3. It is more probable that the non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke was, for Matthew at least, in two

documents than that it was in one. The dividing line is to be drawn between Lk. 9 50 and 51. The first document probably contained substantially all the material in Lk. 3 1–9 50 not derived from Mark. Respecting 9 51–18 14, 19 1-28, however, it is not clear whether Matthew possessed the whole or only a portion of it; in the latter case Luke either had, beside the document which Matthew possessed, a source peculiar to himself, containing along with other material the parables of the good Samaritan and the prodigal son, or a document which was itself a combination of these two sources. For purposes of study, accordingly, the non-Marcan material in Lk. 3 1–19 28 falls by definite external tests into three parts, one used by both Matthew and Luke in the Galilean period, a second used by Luke in the Perean period and by Matthew in the Galilean period and the Jerusalem ministry, a third used by Luke only and in his Perean period. In what combinations they came into the hands of Matthew and Luke respectively is a matter for investigation, but apparently the two which Matthew used came to him separately, not combined.

4. It is highly probable that the immediate sources of our gospels contained severally a considerable amount of common material, which is itself to be accounted for by sources, in part at least, written, and lying behind the immediate sources of our Gospels.

5. The recovery of immediate sources needs to be differentiated as sharply as possible from the discovery of ultimate sources.

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The Prayer of Moses the Man of God[1]

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IN my paper on Assyr. *ikkâr* and *irrîš*, farmer, published ZDMG 65, 563, l. 30—564, l. 12,[2] I have discussed two couplets of Ps. 90 which bears the title *The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God.* I have stated there that vv. 7–9, also 11. 12 and v. 15, are later additions, and that v. 4 should precede v. 3. The ἅπαξ λεγόμενον זרמתם in v. 5 is connected with the noun זרמה, *emission of semen*, Ezek. 23 20. We find the same verb in Arabic: *záramat bíhi úmmuhu* means *his mother was pregnant with him* or *his mother bore him.* The Heb. verb זרם means *to engender, generate, procreate, bring into life.* Hitzig combined it with זרמה in Ezek. 23 20, and interpreted: *du streuest* (*die Keime ihres Werdens*) *aus.*[3] If we want to imitate the obscurity of the original we may say, *Thou springest them;* to *spring* may mean *to cause to spring up* or *arise, bring forth, generate*, also *to scatter as in sowing.* The version of the Psalms in the Book of Common

[1] Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 29, 1911.

[2] For the abbreviations, see this JOURNAL, vol. 29, p. 112; cf. AJSL 26, 204; ZDMG 63, 530. — *Mic.* = Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910).

[3] See Hitzig, *Die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1836) 2, 152 n.*; *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1865) 2, 234.

Prayer has *Thou scatterest them.* Symmachus renders: ὡς καταιγὶς ἐξετίναξας αὐτούς, *Thou didst scatter them like a squall.* The Syriac Bible has שרבתהון, *their generations*, but this should be the denominative Pael, שַׁרבת אנון, *Thou hast generated them.* Instead of the familiar *Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as asleep*, we must render: *Thou hast gendered them year by year.*

Duhm[4] suggested the reading זרעתם instead of זרמתם, and his emendation has been adopted by Gunkel, who has just published the third edition of his *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1912) and an important article on the classification of the Psalms in the November number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* edited by Julius Rodenberg. But the received text is correct. Duhm is right, however, in regarding the following שנה, *sleep*, as a mispointed haplography of שנה שנה, *year in year out* (cf. *Kings*, 243, 27).[2] On the other hand, בבקר, after יהו, is vertical dittography of בבקר at the beginning of the following line, and וחלף, or rather יחלף, after יציץ, is vertical dittography of יחלף, or rather יחלף, at the end of the preceding verse.

In v. 14 the meaningless בבקר in the phrase שבענו בבקר חסדך, *satisfy us in the morning with Thy mercy*, is a corruption of a rare word for *abundance*, Heb. מכר. I have shown (*Kings* 238, 51; cf. ZDMG 65, 563, l. 23) that we have the same stem in מכר, 2 K 12 6. 8, which does not mean *acquaintance*, but *donor*, *benefactor*. Assyr. *makâru* means *to give in abundance.* We must read שבענו במכר חסדך, *Sate us with the abundance of Thy mercy.*

While שנה must be repeated in v. 5, it must be omitted in v. 10, and the last word of that verse, ונָעָפה, should be pointed ונִעָפה, from יעף, *to be weary*, while the preceding כי גו חיש seems to be a corruption of ניגע חנם, *we toil for nought.* Schultens, *Animadversiones* (Amsterdam, 1732) p. 175, translated: *Quia velociter transit, et avolamus;* but כי גו חיש cannot mean *for it soon passes away* or *for it is soon cut off* (contrast *Nah.* 28, below). J. D. Michaelis' rendering: *Schnell fährt das Schiff über die See und fliegt*

[4] *Die Psalmen erklärt von* B. Duhm (Freiburg i/B, 1899).

davon[5] can be appreciated only in the light of our recent aviatic records. The divergences of the Ancient Versions show that the text is corrupt. The pointing נְעָפָה instead of נָעָפָה is supported by the Syriac Bible, which renders: מטול דאתא עלין מוככא ואתטרפן, *because affliction comes over us, and we are worn out.*[6] I have stated in ZDMG that this familiar verse must be translated:

> Our years are threescore and ten,
> and, if one be strong, even fourscore;
> Most of it is labor and sorrow,
> we are ever toiling and moiling.

But instead of בכל־עת ניגע, *we are ever toiling*, in the last hemistich, it is better to read ניגע חנם, *we toil for nought.* Goethe said to Eckermann on Jan. 27, 1824, when he was 75: *Man hat mich immer als einen vom Glück besonders begünstigten gepriesen . . . allein im Grunde ist es nichts als Mühe und Arbeit gewesen.*[7] The reading *most of it*, Heb. רָהָב, is supported by 𝔊𝔖𝔗.[8] The Book of Common Prayer has: *Though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years.*

This Psalm is undoubtedly one of the most impressive poems in the Bible, but several of its familiar lines are meaningless, *e.g.* the well-known *Establish Thou the work of our hands upon us.* It sounds beautiful, but *upon us* in this connection is beyond explanation, and the meter shows that it is merely dittography of the *upon us* at the end of the preceding hemistich, *May the favor of the Lord be upon us.* The received text repeats the phrase *Support the work of our hands* without the meaningless *upon us.* This may be a correction of the preceding clause.[8] The Book of Common Prayer has *Prosper Thou our handiwork.*

This beautiful poem is, of course, not a prayer of Moses, the man of God. Cheyne states in his *Bampton Lectures*[9]

[5] *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments*, part 6, p. 144 (Göttingen, 1782).

[6] This Syriac verb does not mean *to be snatched away*, as some commentators suppose, but *to be weary, exhausted, worn out, afflicted.*

[7] Cited by Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1888) p. 255.

[8] Cf. Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 47, l. 42.

[9] Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (London, 1891) pp. 74/5

that almost all the ancient and medieval commentators, and many of the best modern Christian exegetes, deny the Psalm to Moses.[10] Grotius (*Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum*) suggested that some later poet might have written the Psalm in the character of Moses; he remarks on the title *Oratio Mosis hominis Dei: Non ab ipso facta est sed ejus rebus animoque conveniens.* The title was suggested by the references in the opening couplet to the creation of the world and by certain phraseological parallels (ימות, שנות) in Deut. 32 which had long since been ascribed to Moses.[11] The Mosaic authorship was denied by Melanchthon's friend Esrom Rüdinger in his *Libri Psalmorum Paraphrasis Latina* (Görlitz, 1581).[12] Hitzig believed that the poem was written between 164 and 152 B.C., and C. v. Lengerke (1847) assigned it to the later Maccabean period. The preceding Psalm (89) is undoubtedly Maccabean, and I have shown in the *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909) p. 276, that the following Psalm (91) is a Maccabean talisman. The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, may be almost as late as the Book of Ecclesiastes, which seems to have been completed about 100 B.C.[13] Like Ecclesiastes this pessimistic

[10] But Franz Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1894) p. 585 stated: *Es giebt kaum ein Schriftdenkmal des Altertums, welches das Überlieferungszeugnis seiner Abstammung so glänzend rechtfertigte wie dieser Psalm*, and Tholuck, *Psalmen* (Gotha, 1873) p. 569 said: *Die Stimme des alten Gesetzgebers lässt sich nicht undeutlich herauserkennen.* T. C. Murray, in his *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms* (New York, 1880) p. 271/2 says that none of the allusions of this song are unsuited to what we know of the Mosaic times . . . . It could well have been preserved in the early song book, "The Book of Valor."

[11] Cf. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866) p. 37.

[12] He says, *Verisimilius multo fuerit, magisque consentaneum, Antiochici temporis Psalmum existimare;* cf. Rosenmüller's *Scholia* (Leipzig, 1823) p. 1513; see also C. Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters* (Leipzig, 1869) p. 3.

[13] See Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 3. My interpretation of Eccl. 4 13-16 as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas has been endorsed by Bertholet in TLZ 35, 389. Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1904) 2, 78, called attention to the fact that v. 10 of our Psalm is alluded to in the Book of Jubilees (23 12. 15) which was, according to Charles, written before 96 B.C. or some years earlier in the reign of

poem exhibits a number of theological interpolations, *e.g.* the couplet consisting of vv. 7 and 9:[14]

> Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire;
> For all our days decline, our years are ended in sighing.

This is a gloss to the third couplet of the original poem:

> Thou hast gendered them year by year, like sprouting herbage they are:
> In the morn it buds and blossoms, at even it is seared and withered;

and to the first line of this gloss, *Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire*, we have a tertiary gloss in v. 11:

> Who minds Thy wrath? who heeds Thine anger?

Instead of the meaningless וכיראתך, *and according to the fear of Thee*, we must read ומי רֹאה, *and who sees* or *heeds?* The traditional rendering, *even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath*, is impossible.

Just as obscure is the traditional reading of the second hemistich of the following line, ונבִא לבַב חכמה, which is supposed to mean *that we cause our hearts to come unto wisdom* or *that we bring in* (harvest) *a heart of wisdom.* Wellhausen, followed by Gunkel, reads ונבֹא לבָב חכמה, *that we may enter the gate of wisdom.* This is just as questionable as his reading זֶרַע מְתִם שֹׁנֶה, *the generation of men is shifting*, instead of זרמתם שנה שנה, *Thou hast gendered them year by year.* Instead of ונבִא לבב חכמה, we must read ומלא לבבנו חכמה, *and fill our hearts with wisdom.*[15]

V. 8 is a gloss to the first line of the third stanza:

> Relent, O Jhvh! How long? take pity on Thy servants!

Heb. עד־מתי, *how long?* or *enough!* is used here elliptically

John Hyrcanus; see the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 15, p. 534; cf. Littmann's translation in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen* (Tübingen, 1900) p. 79 and Schürer's GJV 3, 379 (1909).

[14] I was very much interested in finding that Feodor Spanjer-Herford in his metrical version of the Psalms (Braunschweig, 1896) has bracketed all the lines which I regard as glosses, the only difference being that he has bracketed v. 13 instead of v. 12.

[15] Graetz, *Krit. Commentar über die Psalmen* (Breslau, 1883) p. 512, read כן הודע נביא לבב חכמה, *so hat uns kund getan ein Prophet weisen Herzens*, and considered this an allusion to Is. 65 20.

like the Assyr. *adî matî* in cuneiform penitential psalms. The synonym of *adî matî*, Assyr. *axulâp*, which is connected with Heb. אחלי, *O that!* is used in the same way.[16] For the perfect שַׂתָּה, *Thou hast placed*, in v. 8, we must read the imperative שְׂתָה, *do place*, and the following עֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ, *our iniquities*, is a corruption of עֲנוֹתֵנוּ, *our suffering;* we find the same word, mispointed עֲנִית in Ps. 22 25. Similarly עלמנו in the second hemistich, which is supposed to mean *our secret sins*, is a transposition of עמלנו, *our toil*. Instead of *Thou hast placed our iniquities before Thee, our secret sins in the light of Thy countenance*, we must read:

Oh! place our sufferings before Thee! our toil in the light of Thy face!

i.e. Consider our suffering, and have mercy upon us! Let the light of Thy countenance shine upon us! Beam love upon us! (Num. 6 25). A similar transposition has been suggested for Eccl. 3 11, where several critics read גם את־העמל נתן בלבם instead of the received reading את־העלם. The true reading, however, is הַעֲלֵם, *obscurity, dimness:* God has put obscurity in our heart, He has veiled our mental vision.[17] Locke says, our human understanding is the divine revelation through which God has imparted to us a portion of the truth. 𝔊 has *ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν* in the present passage, reading עֹלָמֵנוּ instead of עֲלָמֵנוּ.

Duhm has pointed out that vv. 48, 49 of the preceding Psalm are a misplaced gloss to Ps. 90:

48	זְכֹר אֲדֹנָי מֶה־חָלֶד	עַל־מֶה־שָּׁוא בָּרָאתָ [α] אָדָם:
49	מִי־גֶבֶר [β] לֹא־יִרְאֶה מָוֶת	יְמַלֵּט נַפְשׁוֹ מִיַּד־שְׁאוֹל:[18]

(α) 48 כל בני (β) 49 יחיה ו

48 Remember, O Lord, what life is, on what vanity [α] man is created![19]
49 Who is he that [β] sees not death, and saves his life from Hades.

(α) 48 all the sons of (β) 49 lives and

[16] See Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885) pp. 28 and 118; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 44[a] and 435[b]; *Assyr. Lesestücke* (1909) p. 153[b].

[17] See Haupt, *Koheleth* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 29, n. 7; cf. *Nah.* 32.

[18] Read *šôl;* cf. below, note on ואשמורה, v. 4.

[19] Lit. *Thou hast created man.*

The connection between Ps. 90 and Ps. 89 48 was pointed out by Rüdinger; see Hupfeld's commentary (Gotha, 1888) 2, 364.

The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, consists of three stanzas, each comprising two couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line. Duhm states in his commentary[4] that this poem is written in tetrastichs with three beats, but in his translation[20] he has four beats in each stich, or rather hemistich; so, too, Bickell in his *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883) p. 171. The original poem consisted only of the first two stanzas; the third seems to be a subsequent liturgical addition (so, too, Duhm and Gunkel). Hupfeld regarded vv. 1–12 as an introduction to vv. 13–17; he divided the poem into three stanzas: vv. 1–6, 7–12, and 13–17. According to Olshausen there are no regular stanzas.[21] Reuss[22] believed that there was a close connection between vv. 13–17 and the preceding verses, and contested the theory that the last stanza was secondary. Rosenmüller[12] divided the poem into two sections: vv. 1–11 and 12–17.

The Hebrew text should be arranged as follows:

תפלה למשה איש האלהים

A	i	1	אדני בדר ודר	{ומעולם עד־עולם אתה}:
		2	בטרם הרים ילדו	{ותחולל ארץ ותבל}:
	ii	4	כי־אלף שנים בעיניך	כיום אתמול ואשמורה:
		3	תשב אנוש אל־דכה	ותאמר שובו בני־אדם:
B	iii	5	זרמתם שנה שנה	יהיו כחציר יחלף:
		6	בבקר יפרח ויציץ	לערב ימולל ויבש:

[20] *Die Psalmen übersetzt von* B. Duhm (Freiburg i/B, 1899).

[21] *Die Psalmen erklärt von* Justus Olshausen (Leipzig, 1853) p. 367.

[22] *Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von* Eduard Reuss, vol. 5, p. 205 (Braunschweig, 1893).

10 iv ימֵי שנותֵנו[θ] שבעִים ואִם בגבורֹת שמונִים[κ]
ורֻבָּם עמֵל ואִון ניגֵע חנָם וְנִעָפה:

C 13 v שובָה יהוָה עד־מתַי והנחֵם עלֵי עבדֵיך[λ]
14 שׂבְּעֵנו במֹכֶר חסדֵך ונרנְנָה[μ] בכֵל ימֵינו:[ν]

16 vi יֵראֶה על־עבדֵיך פעלֵך והדרך עלֵי בניהֵם:
17 ויהי־נֹעם אדנֵי[ξ] עלֵינו ומעשֵׂה ידֵינו כוננָה:[ο]

(α) 1 מעוז אתה היית לנו (β) 2 אל (γ) 4 כי עבר
(δ) 4 בלילה (ε) 5 בבֹּקר (ζ) 6 יחלֵף
(η) 7 כי־כלֵינו באפֵך ובחמתך נבהֵלנו[ππ]
9 כי־כֵל ימֵינו פנו[ρρ] כלֵו שנֵינו בגוֹנֶה:
(θ) 10 בהם (ι) שנה (κ) שנה
(λ) 8 שִׁתָּה עֲנוֹתֵנוּ לנגדֵך עמלֵנו לאֵור פנֵיך (μ) 14 ונשמחה
(ν) 15 שׂמחֵנו כימֵות עֲנוֹתֵנו שנֵות ראֵינו רעֵה:
(ξ) 17 אלהינו (ο) עלֵינו ומעשֵׂה ידֵינו כוננה

(ππ) 11 מי־יוֹדע עז־אפֵך ומי־רֹאֶה עברתֵך: (ρρ) 9 בעברתך
12 לִמנֵות ימֵינו כן־הוֹדֵע ומֵלֵא לבֵבנו חכמה:

This may be translated as follows:

PSALM 90

A Prayer of Moses, the Man of God

A i 1 O Lord,[α] Thou art eternal,
{without beginning or end,[β]}
2 Ere mountains were brought forth,
ere earth and land were born.{}

ii 4 A thousand years in Thy sight
are as yesternight[γ] or as a night-watch.[δ]
3 To dust Thou turnest mortals,
and sayest, Return ye, men!

B iii 5 Thou hast gendered them year by year,
like sprouting herbage they are:[ε]

6 In the morn it buds and blossoms,[ζ]
at even it is seared and withered.[η]

iv 10 Our years[θ] are threescore and ten,[ι]
and, if one be strong, even fourscore;[κ]
Yet most of them — labor and sorrow,
for nought we are toiling and moiling.

C v 13 *Relent, O Jahveh! Enough!*
take pity on Thy servants![λ]
14 *With the fill of Thy goodness sate us*
that all our days we rejoice.[μν]

vi 16 *Manifest Thy work on Thy servants,*
and Thy glory on their sons!
17 *May the favor of the Lord*[ξ] *be upon us,*
support our handiwork![ο]

(α) 1 Thou hast been a stronghold for us (β) 2 O God!
(γ) 4 when it is past (δ) in the night (ε) 5 in the morning (ζ) 6 it sprouts
(η) 7 Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire;[ππ]
9 For all our days decline,[ρρ] we end our years in sighing.
(θ) 10 in them (ι) years (κ) years
(λ) 8 Oh! place our suffering before Thee, our toil in the light of Thy face!
(ν) 15 Let us rejoice as many days as we suffered, as many years as we saw evil!
(μ) 14 and be glad (ξ) 17 our God (ο) upon us, support our handiwork

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(ππ) 11 Who minds Thy wrath? who heeds Thine anger?
12 Our days teach us truly to tell, and fill our hearts with wisdom!
(ρρ) 9 through Thine anger

I append two metrical translations in German and in Assyrian; cf. my Assyrian renderings of Pss. 23 and 137, and David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan, AJSL 21, 137; OLZ 10, 67; JHUC No. 163, p. 56; see *Preliminary Bibliography of Paul Haupt*, compiled by A. Ember, JHUC No. 240, p. 26, l. 6.

Gebet des Gottesmannes Moses

A i 1 Herr,[α] Du bist für und für,
{von Urzeit bis zur Endzeit,[β]}
2 Ehe denn die Berge geboren
und Erd' und Land erschaffen.{}

ii 4 Vor Dir sind tausend Jahre
wie die gestrige Nacht,[γ] eine Wache.[δ]
3 Zu Staub machst Du die Menschen
und rufst sie wieder in's Dasein.

B iii 5 Jahr für Jahr hast Du sie erzeugt,
sie sind[ε] wie sprossendes Gras:
6 Am Morgen wächst es und blüht,[ζ]
am Abend ist's welk und verdorret.[η]

iv 10 Unsrer Jahre Zahl[θ] ist siebzig[ι]
bei grosser Kraft auch achtzig;[κ]
Doch ist's meist nur Mühe und Arbeit,
vergebliches Plagen und Quälen.

C v 13 *Lass ab! O Jahveh! Genug!*
hab' Mitleid mit Deinen Dienern![λ]
14 *Mit der Fülle Deiner Gnade lab' uns,*
lass' uns frohlocken[μ] *all' unsre Tage!*[ν]

vi 16 *Zeig' Dein Walten an Deinen Dienern,*
Deine Grösse an ihren Kindern!
17 *Des Herren*[ξ] *Huld sei bei uns,*
unsrer Hände Arbeit fördre![ο]

(α) 1 eine Feste bist Du für uns gewesen (β) 2 O Gott (γ) 4 wenn sie vorüber
(δ) 4 in der Nacht (ε) 5 am Morgen (ζ) 6 sprosst
(η) 7 Vor Deinem Grimm vergehn wir, weggerafft durch Deinen Zorn.[ππ]
9 Denn all' unsre Tage schwinden,[ρρ] unsre Jahre vergehn in Jammer.
(θ) 10 darin (ι) Jahr (κ) Jahr
(λ) 8 Unser Leiden stelle Dir vor, unsre Not vor Dein leuchtendes Antlitz!
(ν) 15 Für die Tage unsres Leidens gieb uns Freude, für die Jahre da wir Unglück erfahren!
(μ) 14 und uns freuen (ξ) 17 unsres Gottes (ο) 17 bei uns, unsrer Hände Arbeit fördre!

(ππ) 11 Wer bedenkt Deine Zornglut? wer beachtet Deinen Unwillen?
12 Lehr' uns recht zu zählen unsre Tage und füll' unser Herz mit Weisheit!
(ρρ) 9 durch Deinen Unwillen

Tislîtu ša Mâšâ amêl ili

A i	1	*Bêlum*$^{\alpha}$ *dârû atta*	{*ultu-ullâ ana-arkât ûmê*$^{\beta}$}
	2	*Lam šadê i'aldû-ma*	*erçitu u-nâbalu ibbanû.*{}
ii	4	*Ina-pânika lîm-šanâti*	*kîma-amšât*$^{\gamma}$ *u-kîma maççarti*$^{\delta}$
	3	*Tênišêti ana-ṭîṭi tatâr-ma*	*"Tûrû amelûti" taqâbî.*
B iii	5	*Šatta ana-šatti tazrîšun*	$^{\epsilon}$*kîma-urqîti âçîti ibâšû*
	6	*Ina-šêri idâšî-ma išâmax*$^{\zeta}$	*ina-lîlâti ibbal-ma irrur.*$^{\eta}$
iv	10	*Ûmê šanâtini*$^{\theta}$ *sêbâ'-ma*	*ina-emûqê rabâti samânâ*$^{\kappa}$
		Ma'adûssun pušqu u-dannatu	*ana-înimma šûnuxâni šumruçâni.*
C v	13	*Tûra Iâma adî-matî*	*ana-ardêka rêma rišîšun*$^{\lambda}$
	14	*Ina-makâr salîmika šušqîni-ma*	*ina-kal ûmêni nirêša.*$^{\mu\nu}$
vi	16	*El-ardêka epištuka linnamir-ma*	*tanîttuka elî mârêšun*
	17	*Lû-dumqu ša Bêlini*$^{\xi}$ *elîni-ma*	*šipir qâtâni šutêšir.*^{o}

(α) 1 *dannatu ana-nâši tabšî* (β) 2 *ilu* (γ) 4 *ša êtiqu*
(δ) 4 *ina-mûši* (ϵ) 5 *ina-šêri* (ζ) 6 *uççû*
(η) 7 *Ina-uzzatika niklî* *ina-uggatika nillaqit*$^{\pi\pi}$
9 *U-kal ûmêni ixliqû-ma*$^{\rho\rho}$ *šanâtini ina-tânîxi kalâ*
(θ) 10 *ina-šâšunu* (ι) *šanâti* (κ) *šanâti*
(λ) 8 *Maruštani maxarka šukun* *šapšaqani ina-nûr pânika*
(ν) 15 *Kî-ûmê maruštini xuddîni* *šanâti ša-limutta nîmuru*
(μ) 14 *u-nixâdû* (ξ) *ilini* (o) *elîni-ma šipir qâtâni šutêšir*

($\pi\pi$) 11 *Mannu-uggataka îdî-ma* *mannu-kimiltaka upâq*
12 *Ana-mani ûmêni kêniš-šîdi-ma* *libbani nîmêqa mulli* ($\rho\rho$) 9 *ina kimiltika*

Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text

V. 1. — The name משה may have been originally מושע so that משה would correspond to יהושע as מאיר to יאיר; see note 24 to my paper *An ancient protest against the curse on Eve* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, p. 513 (Philadelphia, September, 1911).

For איש האלהים 𝔗 has נבייא דיהוה.

For מעון in the gloss מעון אתה היית לנו, read מעוז; cf. *Die Psalmen* übersetzt von E. Kautzsch (Freiburg i/B, 1893) p. 204. This word, however, does not mean *καταφυγή, refugium*, but *stronghold*, from עוז; see *Mic.* 80, below. Duhm thinks that this clause was probably added by the author of vv. 13–17 (stanza C).

בדר ודר means *in all* (GK § 123, c) *generations*, i.e. *everlasting;* so, too, in Syriac. 𝔖 has here לדרדרין (cf. Assyr. *ana dûr dâri*) which has the same meaning (*for ever and ay*).

V. 2. — The two halves of v. 2 must be transposed (cf. *Mic.* 94, vi): ומעולם עד־עולם אתה (lit. *from the dim* past *to the dim* future; cf. above, p. 120, n. 17; contrast AL^{5}, 153^{b}, line 20) is the second hemistich to the first line of the poem; so Bickell, Duhm, and Zenner-Wiesmann, *Psalmen* (Münster i/W, 1906/7). Cheyne in his translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library (London, 1884) p. 246 renders *from æon to æon*, one æon extending indefinitely in the past, and the other in the future.

אל, at the end of the verse, was combined by 𝔊 (*μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς, ne avertas*) with תשב at the beginning of the following verse; cf. second note on v. 3. This is endorsed by Paulus in *Philol. Clavis über die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 397; also by Zenner-Wiesmann, and by Briggs, *Psalms* (1907). But 𝔖𝔗 have את הוא אלהא. In 𝔐, however, אל (cf. *Mic.* 71, l. 2; 86, *a*) is vocative, not predicate.

יֻלְּדוּ is impf. pass. Qal like יִתֵּן, יִקַּח, יִקַּם, etc. (GK § 53, u).

For תחוֹלֵל (from חיל; cf. *Mic.* 82) read the passive ותחוֹלַל (𝔊 *πλασθῆναι*, 𝔍 *formaretur*, 𝔗 איתבריאת). 𝔖 has two verbs (cf. note on ימוֹלל, v. 6) for ותחולל, one active, and one passive: ועדלא תחבלי ארעא ועדלא תתקני תאביל. Luther's *ehe . . . die Erde und die Welt geschaffen worden* is better than AV *before . . . thou hadst formed the earth and the world.*

תבל does not mean *world*, but *land*, especially *terra firma;* 𝔊, therefore, *ἡ οἰκουμένη* (cf. Syr. תאביליא, *ecumenical*). 𝔗 יתבי תבל. Michaelis, correctly, *Erde und Land;* also Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 586 explains ארץ as *Erdkörper*, and תבל as *Festland*. The original meaning is *dry land;* תבל (Syr. תאביל, תאבל, תביל, תיבל, תהבאל) is the

Assyr. *tâbalu*, a byform of *nâbalu* (for *ma'balu;* cf. BA 1, 175) from אבל = אמל, *to be dry;* cf. note on ימולל, v. 6. Heb. תֵּבֵל represents a later pronunciation of Assyr. *tâbalu*, viz. *têbilu;* cf. Assyr. *erritu* = *arratu*, curse; *erṣitu* = *arṣatu*, earth. A similar Assyrian loanword is מַטְבֵּת (*Est.* 23). According to Gen. 1 9 the dry land appeared after the earth had been created.

V. 3.—This verse should be preceded by v. 4. Bachmann, *Psalmen*, part 5 (Berlin, 1891) p. 342 remarked: *Vers* 4 *passte besser als v.* 3, *und vielleicht darf man eine Umstellung dieser Verse vornehmen.* But more than 60 years ago Ernst Meier, *Die poetischen Bücher des AT* (Stuttgart, 1850) p. 122 added to v. 4 the note: *Dieser Vers steht im Hebr. unrichtig hinter dem folgenden.* The same transposition has been adopted by Spanjer-Herford (cf. above, p. 119, n. 14).

For תָּשֵׁב read תָּשֹׁב; cf. *Mic.* 70, *μ*. The traditional pointing presupposes the reading אל־תשב, *μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς*; see second note on v. 2. Graetz, *O, vergilt den Sterblichen nicht bis zur Vernichtung.* Briggs, *Do not turn man back to dust.* Bachmann's conjecture, אלית שֹׁב אנוש עד־דכא, *Thou hast pronounced a curse, Return, O man, to dust*, is gratuitous.

עד־דכא is not equivalent to עד היות דכא (Hitzig). עד is miswriting for על = אל; cf. Gen. 3 19, Eccl. 12 7, and *Kings* 142, 23; *Mic.* 80, *ε*.

For דכא read דכה, fem. of דך = דק Ex. 16 14, Is. 40 15, Arab. *duqq*, fine dust, lit. *powdered matter* (Hupfeld, *zu Malm*). Cf. הדק לעפר 2 K 23 6. Some MSS read דכא instead of דכה in Deut. 23 2; see Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 587, n. 1. If we retain דכא, we must point דָּכְא, a form like דָּשְׁא. Isaac Leeser's Bible renders, *Thou turnest man to contrition.* 𝔊 *εἰς ταπείνωσιν*; so, too, 𝔖 (עדמא למוככא; cf. v. 11). 𝔗 עד מותא.

For ותאמר read וַתֹּאמֶר; it is the *modus rei repetitae* (GK § 107, e). Cf. note on ויבש in v. 6.

שובו should be accented on the ultima; cf. *Nah.* 18, conclusion of note on 1 1. It does not mean *Werdet was ihr wart*

(J. D. Michaelis). Similarly J. A. Cramer has in his *Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen*, part 3 (Leipzig, 1763) p. 23:

> Wenn Du gebietest: Sterbt! Kommt Menschenkinder wieder,
> und werdet was ihr waret, Staub.

Gunkel, *Kehrt wieder zurück zum Staub, daraus ihr erschaffen seid.* This explanation, which is advocated also by Briggs and in third edition of Kautzsch's HSAT, is incorrect; the present passage must be explained according to Eccl. 1 4: דור הולך ודור בא, *generations are going and coming.* The Coranic passage Sur. 30 10, cited by Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254, has a different meaning.

V. 4. — For the etymology of אתמול see AJSL 22, 251.

In the gloss כי יעבר the prefix י is due to dittography. 𝔊 διῆλθεν, 𝔖 דעבר.

ואשמורה was pronounced *washmurâh;* cf. above, p. 120, n. 18, and *Mic.* 69, ii. A night-watch lasted four hours. אתמול is a synonym of אמש; it denotes the first half of the (Jewish) day, from sunset to sunrise (see JBL 21, 65, n. 17). Cf. German *nächt = yesterday*, and *über Nacht* in the sense of *in a short time.* The poet means to say, in JHVH's eyes 1000 years are like 12 hours; nay, like 4 hours. The point is not, as Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 588 and Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254 suppose, that a watch in the night has no duration at all to the unconscious sleeper. Far more correct is the rendering given in the fourth stanza of Isaac Watts' famous hymn, *O God, our help in ages past*, quoted in C. G. Montefiore's *Psalms* (London, 1901) p. 472:

> A thousand ages in Thy sight
> Are like an evening gone;
> Short as a watch that ends the night
> Before the rising sun.

The chiliastic doctrine that the world will last for 6000 years of toil and labor, to be followed by 1000 years of sabbath rest for the people of God in the Messianic Kingdom, is based on the present passage (cf. 2 Pet. 3 8 and Sir. 18 10) combined with Gen. 1 and Dan. 9; see Harnack's article on *Millennium* in the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 18, p. 461.

V. 5. — For זרמתם see above p. 115. Mohammed says (*e.g.* Sur. 80 18) that God creates men *min nuṭfatin*, i.e. from a drop of semen. Ehrlich, *Psalmen* (Berlin, 1904) reads זְרָמָתָם, and explains this as *der Samenfluss, woraus sie werden;* he renders the passage: *Im Keimen sind sie ein Jahr; am folgenden Morgen sprossen sie wie das Gras.* Zenner adopts Wellhausen's reading זרע מתים שנה, but combines this with בירק, which he substitutes for בבקר, thus rendering: *Das Geschlecht der Menschen wandelt sich wie Laub.* Oort, *Emendationes* (1900) p. 85 reads זְרָמָתָם, which seems to be a misprint (?) for זְרָמָתַם. Graetz, וזעמתנו, *Du hast uns gezürnt.*

The reading שנה שנה, *year in year out*, is supported by 𝔊 *τὰ ἐξουδενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσονται*, 𝔍 *quae pro nihilo habentur eorum anni erunt.* Ἐξουδενόω (cf. Mark 9 12) = ἐξουδενίζω is derived from *οὐδέν, nothing*, and means *to regard as nothing* (cf. Hag. 2 3) or *worthless, to hold in little esteem, attach small value to it;* ἐξουδένωμα means here *vain pursuit, fruitless effort* (not *contempt*) = הבל ורעיון רוח in Eccl. 4 16. According to 𝔍, 𝔊 should read *τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώματα ἔσονται.* 𝔊 took זרמתם as a noun; so, too, 𝔖. 𝔊 may have read בזתם instead of זרמתם (ב = מ, ו = ר; cf. *Mic.* 90, l. 6). The conjectures that 𝔊 read והמתם (cf. Job 33 20) or וריהם (cf. Job 19 17) are not probable. 𝔖 שרבתהון may be a corruption, or correction, of שרבוניהון, *their trifles;* שרבונא is a diminutive (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 131) of שרבא, *affair, matter* (cf. Arab. *šuwáiyun*). 𝔗 paraphrases, ואין לא תיבין תיתי עליהון מותא היך דמכין יהון, *if they do not repent, Thou bringest upon them death; like sleepers* (i.e. *dead*) *will they be.*

יהיו belongs to כחציר יחלף; יחלף is a relative clause (GK § 155, g). Hupfeld-Nowack, correctly, *sie sind . . . wie das Gras das sprosst.*

For יחלף read יַחֲלֹף; cf. Syr. אחלף, *to sprout.* 𝔖 has איך עופיא דתחלפי דבצפרא יעא ומחלף.

V. 6. — For וחלף, after יציץ, read יַחֲלֹף, vertical dittography of יחלף at the end of the preceding verse.

Before יציץ we may insert יפרח, which may have been displaced by the gloss וחלף = יחלף. Or וחלף (= יחלף) may be

a scribal error for יפרח. For similar erroneous repetitions cf. JBL 29, 106, n. 81.

ימולל must be derived from מלל = אמל, *to wither*, not from מול, *to remove the front* or *top*, *to crop* (*Mic.* 86, *a*; ZDMG 64, 710, l. 18). Cf. Ps. 37 2 and Is. 40 6–8; see my translation in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902). 𝔊 has a double translation for ימולל: *ἀποπέσοι, σκληρυνθείη* (𝔍 *decidat, induret*). 𝔖, correctly, חמא, *withers;* but 𝔗 מתמולל, *cut off*.

For וְיָבֵשׁ we had better point וְיִבָּשׁ, *modus rei repetitae;* cf. last note but one on v. 3.

V. 7.—This verse (and v. 9) is a gloss on vv. 5 and 6. The meter of v. 7 is 2 + 2, whereas v. 9 has 3 + 3 beats.

Zenner inserts v. 7 after v. 10.

נבהלנו (cf. ZAT 29, 286, n. 4) does not mean *turbati sumus* (𝔊 *ἐταράχθημεν*, 𝔖 אתדלחן) but *we are despatched, snatched away* by a premature death. Luther, correctly, *wir müssen plötzlich dahin.* The theological glossator wants to emphasize the point that the reason why our life is so short is that we have provoked God's wrath by our sins; cf. Rom. 5 12.

V. 8.—This verse is a gloss to v. 13; see above, p. 119.

Zenner suggested that שת might be taken as imperative.

For עוֹנֹתינו (instead of ענותנו, *our suffering;* cf. v. 15) 𝔖 has חטהין, 𝔗 חובנא.

For עלמנו (instead of עמלנו) 𝔗 has עוָיית טליותנא, *the sins of our youth* (cf. חטאות נעורי, Ps. 25 7). Cheyne (1904) reads מעלנו. 𝔖 עלמין = 𝔊 *ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν.* Briggs, *Thou hast set our youth in the sunlight of Thy face.*

For למאור read לאור; cf. Pss. 4 7, 44 4, 89 16, Prov. 16 15. 𝔊 *εἰς φωτισμὸν τοῦ προσώπου σου*; in Ps. 44 4 𝔊 has *ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ προσώπου σου* for אור פניך. Cheyne (1904) suggests למאול (cf. AJSL 22, 250, below; 24, 124) for למאור.

V. 9.—פנו (𝔗 איתפניאו) means *they decline;* so Briggs and Zenner (*gehn zur Neige*). Cf. פנה היום, Jer. 6 4, and Syr. פנא לה יומא, *the day declined*, פָּנְיָא, *declining day, early evening.*

בעברתך is a tertiary gloss.

In the second hemistich, כלינו שנינו כמו־הגה, we may sub-

stitute כלו for כלינו, as suggested by Buhl in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. 𝔖 וגרמי שנין איך גוגי, 𝔊 *τὰ ἔτη ἡμῶν ὡς ἀράχνη ἐμελέτων*, 𝔍 *anni nostri sicut aranea meditabuntur*. Cheyne (1904) suggests that 𝔊 *ἐμελέτων* may be a corruption of *ὡς ὁ μελετῶν*, 𝔍 *sicut sermonem loquens* (הגה). The original text, it may be supposed, was כגו שנינו בגוגה, *our years are ended in sighing;* גוגה (for גוגי, a form like דודי) corresponds to Syr. גוגיא (also גוגא, גוגא) *piping, peeping, chirping* of a bird, or *piping, crying, weeping* of a child; cf. German *piepsen*, Greek *πιππίζειν*. 𝔊 (followed by 𝔖𝔍) took גוגה (= Syr. גוגי, *piping*) in the sense of Syr. גוגי, *spider*, reading כגוגה, *like a spider*, instead of בגוגה, *in piping, weeping*. For confusion of ב and כ cf. *Mic.* 92, ii. GB 172[a] *s.v.* הגה states that 𝔊𝔖 suggest the reading גוגה, *cobweb;* see also Buhl in Kittel. But in the original Heb. text of the present passage גוגה meant *sighing*, not *cobweb*. RV has, for *a tale that is told*, in the margin: or *a sound* or *sigh*. Schultz in Strack-Zöckler's commentary renders *Gemurmel*. Kirkpatrick, *Psalms* (Cambridge, 1903) p. 551 translates: *we consume our years as a sigh*. In the Talmud, גוגה, *spider* appears as כוביא (miswritten בוביא, כוביא). We read Suc. 52[a] (cf. Snh. 99[b]; BT 3, 146; 7, 435): אמר רב אסי יצר הרע בתחילת דומה לחוט של כוביא ולבסוף דומה כעבות העגלה, *Rabbi Asi said, The evil desire is at first like a thread of a spider, but finally it is like cart-ropes* (Is. 5 18). This word is found also in Persian in the form *kâkiyâ;* see Vullers' lexicon, 2, 779[b]; it may be a Semitic loanword; contrast Graetz's commentary, p. 510, and Delitzsch's *Psalmen* (1894) p. 590, n. 1.—Duhm renders, *Our years are like a weaver's shuttle, a sound* (?) *the days of our years; their utmost limit is* 70 *years;* he proposes to read, שנינו כמו ארג הגה ימי שנותינו גבהם שבעים שנה. The emendation גבהם has been adopted by Gunkel and Zenner. According to the *'Arûkh*, כוביא means *weaver's shuttle;* for ארג cf. Job 7 6.—In 𝔐, במו־הגה (misread כמו הגה) was substituted for בגוגה; הגה (for *higai*,[23] a form like שכב, שָׁכָב) means *moaning* in

[23] For *hegêh* instead of *higêh* cf. JAOS 28, 112.

Ez. 2 10 (קינים והגה ונהי[24]) just as הגיג, from the allied stem הגג, has the same meaning; cf. Ps. 5 2, 39 4. Also in Gen. 3 16 we must read הֲגֹנֵךְ instead of הֵרֹנֵךְ; see n. 2 to my paper cited in the first note on v. 1. For הגה in Job 37 2, where it refers to the thunder, cf. my paper *Die Posaunen von Jericho* in WZKM 23, 361. Ehrlich reads כמו הגה, *like them*, i.e. *in the same way*, for כמו הגה. — For *ὡς ἀράχνην* in 𝔊 we must read *ὡς ἀράχνη* (so several MSS). Μελετάω means not only *to care for*, *attend to*, but also *to take care*, *take pains*, *labor*. 𝔊 may have interpreted the hemistich to mean that we labor all our life like a spider, spinning webs which are easily destroyed (cf. Job 8 14, Is. 59 5; see AJSL 26 10) so that our endeavors are fruitless. This hemistich would then have nearly the same meaning as 𝔊's rendering of the beginning of v. 5, *τὰ ἐξουδενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσονται*, or rather, *τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώματα ἔσονται*. Luther remarks in his *Scholae de Psalmis, habitae annis* 1513–1516, edited by J. K. Seidemann (Dresden, 1876) vol. 2, p. 96: *Opera inutilia sicut aranearum tela efficiunt;* contrast Luther's *Psalmen-Auslegung*, compiled by Chr. G. Eberle, vol. 1, p. 848 (Stuttgart, 1874). Matthias Claudius says in the fourth stanza of his well-known song *Der Mond ist aufgegangen:*

Wir stolzen Menschenkinder
Sind eitel arme Sünder
Und wissen gar nicht viel;
Wir spinnen Luftgespinste
Und suchen viele Künste
Und kommen weiter von dem Ziel.

The last line but one of this stanza is based on the theological gloss in Eccl. 7 29: והמה בקשו חשבנות רבים, *they have sought out many inventions*, i.e. *devices*, *theories*, *speculations* (Luther, *aber sie suchen viele Künste*). — Cheyne (1904) renders v. 9: *Our doings are like spider's webs, our works have been crushed like locusts.* Cheyne's conjectures in his new commentary (cf. above, p. 118, n. 13) are like spider's webs, and the words of the Bible are crushed like locusts. He

[24] והי instead of ונהי (cf. *Mic.* 72, vi) is due to haplography (ו omitted after ו).

translates *e.g.* v. 2: *Before Thou didst exalt Jerahmeel, and didst magnify Miççur and Ishmael.* He thinks (2, 76) that איש האלהים may be an editor's conjectural emendation of a corrupt form of the words להימן האזרחי. More probable, however, משה איש = ישמעאל, and האלהים = ירחמאל. *Sapienti sat!* Contrast *Mic.* 79, below. — 𝔗 paraphrases the present hemistich: שיצינא יומי חיינא היך הבל פומא דסתוא, *we end the days of our life like a breath from the mouth in winter.*

V. 10. — According to Herod. 1, 32; 3, 22 (cited by Hitzig) Solon said, Ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι, and the Ichthyophagi sent by Cambyses to the Ethiopians stated, ὀγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζόης πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι.

The psalmist uses the feminine plural שנותינו; in the preceding gloss we have the masculine plural שנינו.

𝔖 has למחסן, *hardly*, for בגבורת; the Heb. phrase, however, does not mean *hardly* or *at the most*, but *in* (the case of) *great vigor* (intensive plural). The Ethiopic text of the Book of Jubilees, 23 15, where this passage is quoted, has *if he be strong;* cf. above, p. 118, n. 13. Leeser's Bible renders, *If by uncommon vigor they be eighty.* Similarly, Augusti and De Wette's translation of the OT, part 3 (Heidelberg, 1809) p. 237 has, *wenn mit grosser Kraft, achtzig Jahr.* Grotius explains, *si autem viribus eximiis praeditus aliquis fuerit.* AV *by reason of strength* is correct, and Luther's *und wenn es hoch kommt* is wrong. Graetz's conjecture ואם בן גבורת is gratuitous.

For רהבם we must read רֻבָּם (so Zenner). 𝔊 has τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν, 𝔖 סוגאהין, 𝔗 סוגעהון, 𝔍 *amplius eorum.*

The second hemistich of this verse is corrupt; see above, p. 117. For ונעפה, at the end, we must read וְנָעֻפָה, *modus rei repetitae*, and the preceding כי גז חיש seems to be a corruption of וניגע חנם (כ = ב = ג, cf. *Mic.* 74, ii; ע = ו; י = נ; ש = ם). Hubert Grimme's conjecture, in his *Psalmen-Probleme* (Freiburg, 1902) p. 88, גדיש, *death*, is impossible. According to J. D. Michaelis (cf. above, p. 116) the meaning of the passage is: *wir segeln über die See des Todes d. i. wir gehen in jene Welt; wir sterben.* 𝔊 has ὅτι

ἐπῆλθεν πραύτης ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ παιδευθησόμεθα, 𝔍 *quoniam supervenit mansuetudo et corripiemur*, 𝔖 מטול דאתא עלינו מוככא ואתטרפן (cf. above, p. 117, n. 6). 𝔊 may have read: כי באנו חן ונוסר[25], and *corripere* in 𝔍 may be a correction for *corrigere*. Briggs considers the first two hemistichs of v. 10 a prosaic gloss. He renders the third hemistich of v. 10, preceded by the end of v. 9: *As a sigh are the days of our years, and their breadth is travail and sorrow.*

V. 11. — This is a tertiary gloss to v. 7; cf. above, p. 119.

For וכיראתך read, with Duhm and Zenner ומי ראה. Both ידע and ראה mean here *to heed, to pay attention to* (cf. Gen. 39 6. 23). We pay no attention to the manifestations of God's wrath, but continue to sin, and are therefore snatched away by a premature death. Luther's *und wer fürchtet sich vor solchem Grimm?* is better than AV *even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath*, but Duhm's ומי ראה is preferable to Luther's ומי ירא, although this reading is endorsed by Wellhausen and Gunkel.

V. 12. — למנות ימינו כן־הודע does not mean *So teach us to number our days*,[26] but *Make us know accurately how to number our days*, i.e. Make us realize that our days are numbered. According to Hitzig, followed by Kirkpatrick, כן = וכיראתך, but this is a corruption of ומי ראה. The adverb כן does not mean *thus* in this connection, but *truly, correctly*, Assyr. *kênîš*. We have the same כן in לכן, *all right*, lit. *verily* (it is) *right;* see ZDMG 65, 565, l. 13. J. D. Michaelis, *Lehre uns unsere Tage richtig zählen;* Delitzsch, *zu zählen unsere Tage lehre recht verstehen.* Also in 1 S 23 17 וגם שאול אבי ידע כן means, *also my father Saul knows that very well;* so Nowack; contrast Driver *ad loc.* 𝔖 אודעין מנינא דיומין; 𝔊 has *τὴν δεξιάν σου γνώρισον*, 𝔍 *dexteram tuam sic notam fac*, for כן הודע. 𝔊 read ימינך instead of ימינו. This mistake is endorsed by Briggs, who renders: *Thine hand so make us to know*, the hand as stretched out in anger and in doing awful deeds. Luther, *Lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen.*

[25] Cf. Ps. 44 18.

[26] St. Jerome's *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos* renders: *ut numerentur dies nostri, sic ostende.*

For the second hemistich, see above, p. 119.

V. 13. — שובה = שוב מחרון אפך, Ex. 32 12, 2 K 23 26, Jon. 3 9; עד־מתי = (תשמר) עד־מתי תטר. This elliptical *how long?* is equivalent to our *enough!* Zenner reads שובה עד מתיך (or על), and translates: *Wende Dich wieder zu Deinen Kindern* (מתיך!).

For על read עלי; see *Mic.* 70, γ.

V. 14. — For the phonetic corruption (*Mic.* 69, i) בבקר instead of במכר, *with abundance*, see above, p. 116.

V. 15. — Instead of עניתנו (𝔊 ἐταπείνασας ἡμᾶς), read עֲנוֹתֵנוּ, *our toil*, as in v. 8.

V. 16. — For אל read על. Jhvh's work is to manifest itself on His servants:[27] as long as His chosen people suffer, He seems to be asleep and inactive; as soon as they prosper, it is evident that He is working for them, and this prosperity is to be vouchsafed not only to the present generation, but also to their children. Otherwise the heathen may say, Where is their God? Cf. my interpretation of Ps. 130, in AJSL 2, 100, n. 5. According to Ehrlich, this passage, especially the word הדרך, shows that the worshipers of Jhvh were poorly fed and clothed at that time. 𝔊 ὁδήγησον seems to have read הוֹרֵה (not הַדְרֵךְ, Briggs) for הַדְרֵךְ; for the confusion of ו and ד cf. *Mic.* 71, below.

V. 17. — *Establish the work of our hands* means, Give stability and prosperity so that we may live in peace and enjoy the fruit of our labors (מעשה ידים = יגיע כפים, Hag. 1 11).

עלינו is an erroneous repetition of עלינו at the end of the preceding hemistich, and the final ומעשה ידינו כוננה, without the meaningless (Wellhausen) עלינו, may be a correction of the preceding clause (*Pur.* 47, 42). The explanation that עלינו, *super nos = nos protegens*, is not satisfactory. The final עלינו ומעשה ידינו כוננה is omitted also by Zenner.

[27] Kirkpatrick explains, Manifest Thy power on their behalf.

The Location and Etymology of יהוה יראה, Gn. 22 14

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THE explanations that have been offered for this difficult term have been largely conjectural. It is generally recognized that the pointing must be the same in both occurrences of the expression (both in the same verse), and that יראה should not be pointed as Qal the first time and as Niphal the second. So the Pesh., Old Latin, and Vulgate read Qal in both places; LXX and Luc. read as in our present Hebrew texts; the majority of modern scholars read Niphal in both places.

There is a difference of opinion as to the location of the sanctuary. The Samaritans placed the story of the interrupted sacrifice of Isaac at Mount Gerizim; the Jews, with equal tenacity, placed it at Mount Moriah, and the later editor of the chapter has rather clumsily trundled the Jewish tradition into the story.[1] Both these notions may be abandoned, and some other explanation sought.

By judicious omissions, substitutions, and changing of order, Gunkel[2] finds that the group of consonants יראל occurs three times in this chapter. For this reason he proceeds to identify the spot which is called in our present text יהוה יראה with the יריאל of 2 Ch. 20 16, and locates it in the neighborhood of Tekoa. This at least has the merit of

[1] The reading המריה is plainly not the original in Gn. 22 2. Pesh. reads האמרי. LXX *την υψηλην* and Aq. *καταφανη* show that both these authorities read האמיר, which was probably the earliest reading. Aquila's translation evidently derives אמר from the root "to be evident, prominent"; cf. Assyrian *amaru*, "to see."

[2] *Genesis*[3], *in loco.*

ingenuity. Holzinger[3] makes the significant note, "ohne Location, auf jeden heiligen Ort anwendbar," not attempting to identify it with any particular spot.

Gunkel is undoubtedly correct in his supposition that the original reading must have been אל instead of יהוה. Cheyne notices this,[4] and suggests the identification of this spot with the אל ראי of Gn. 16. Of this conclusion the present writer sees further indications.

The Hagar story of Gn. 16 is universally ascribed to J, with the exception of vv. 9-10, which are attributed to E. These two verses are each introduced by the stereotyped ויאמר לה מלאך יהוה, plainly from a later hand. With the exception of this introduction, they may be compared with two verses from the story of the interrupted sacrifice of Gn. 22.

Gn. 16		Gn. 22	
שובי אל גברתך והתעני תחת ידיה	9	וישב אברהם אל נעריו	19
הרבה ארבה את זרעך ולא יספר מרב	10	הרבה ארבה את זרעך ככוכבי השמים.....	17

In the comparison of these verses three observations may be made, not all of equal importance, but all bearing upon one another.

1. In 16 9 and 22 19 occurs the use of שוב with אל and the person.

2. 16 10 a and 22 17 a are identical.

3. 16 10 b and 22 17 b, while not in the same language, express exactly the same idea.

The commentators all agree in making 16 9-10 the work of some other hand, — probably of E, — but they offer no explanation of how the verses came to their present position. But it would seem that in the agreement with 22 17. 19 we have a clue, not only to the way in which they came to their present position, but also as to their author.

There are in 16 and 22 two traditions which endeavored to

[3] *Genesis, in loco.*

[4] Articles "Jehovah-Jireh" and "Isaac," in *EB.*

explain the etymology of a Premosaic divine name, for the יהוה יראה of 22 is undoubtedly the אל ראי of 16. The account in 16 is that of the southern school J ; that in 22 is that of the northern school E. The principle underlying both traditions is that at some time the divinity, the אל, revealed to a worshipper the fact that he was unexpectedly watching him. That this fact was connected with Hagar in one chapter and with Abraham in the other is of no great importance. Other traditions are connected with two persons and pictured upon entirely different backgrounds, *e.g.* the naming of Beersheba.

The school by which the two accounts were edited after being welded together, JEr, recognized the kinship between these two chapters, and did what had been done in numerous cases, viz. supplemented the one account with a verse or verses from the other. Because there was such divergence between the subject matter of the two chapters in the form in which they came to JEr, the chapters themselves could not be combined. As men from the southern kingdom, the writers of the JEr school were interested primarily in the J document, which they supplemented from E, rather than the reverse, while E was left practically intact. The transition from יהוה יראה to אל ראי, while possibly not apparent upon first reading, is comparatively easy.

In 16 13 the י of ראי is not the first person pronominal ending. A great many of the ל"ה verbs, besides ראה, have a participial or abstract nominal formation ending in י– (among them may be instanced מרי, לוי, כלי, דמי, בלי, בכי, תלי and שבי, קשי), and the simplest explanation of ראי is that it is a similar participial or abstract nominal formation, so that אל ראי would be "the God of vision" or "the God of seeing," preferably the former, making ראי a synonym of ראה, "vision," in Is. 28 7.

In accordance with the suggestion made on pages 59–62 of the current volume of this JOURNAL, I would read in 22 11 ויקרא אליו מלאך יהוה וירא אליו האל .... ויאמר instead of ....., ויאמר, and in 22 14 I would suggest that the verse originally read ויקרא אברהם שם המקום ההוא אל ראי. The

writer of 22 14 was in possession of a very old tradition that the name "God of vision" was used at that mountain because it was narrated that the אל once appeared there, substantially the same tradition which underlay 16 13. The JEr writer, following the practice of his school, substituted יהוה for אל, making the name read יהוה ראי. This, however, was an unusual term, calling for some explanation. This explanation was placed in the margin: אשר יאמר היום בהר יהוה יראה, and soon crept into the text, which, under its influence, was altered to יהוה יראה, the alteration in no way changing the meaning of the original.

If these conclusions be correct, they would militate against the claim of Wellhausen that ראי is the name of an animal, and against the suggestion of Gunkel and others that it is the name of the place. They also complete the link in the chain of evidence that in the legends of Genesis אל is never used with the name of a place, as would be the case if polydemonism or polytheism were the prevailing thought of the time, but that it is always used with an attributive noun descriptive of some activity of the El.

Notes on the Old Testament

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1. יגר, Gen. 31 47.

The Jewish temple at Elephantine is called in Papyrus E, l. 14, and J, l. 16 (Sayce and Cowley's publication), אגורא. The word has given rise to various explanations. Nöldeke has noted the possible derivation from Assyrian *êkurru;* Syriac *ėggârâ*, "roof," has been suggested; and most recently Sachau argues for the active formation *âgôrâ*, as in Syriac, the "assembler," hence "assembly," comparing Arabic *jâmi'*, "mosque."[1] Preferring to remain in the field of the elder Aramaic I suggest identification with Rabbinic אִיגּוֹר, "heap, hill," which is used in the Targums for a heathen altar; so the Targum to 2 Ki. 21 3 renders במות. The word is then to be associated with יגר, Gen. 31 47, in יגר שהדותא, "heap of witness," there rendered into Hebrew by גל. If יגר is of *ḳaṭl*-formation, as the Massora points it, it is related to אגורא as Syriac *ḳabrâ* to *ḳebôrâ*, with the softening of ב to א; if it should be pointed יָגָר, it is the same word, *â* having become *ô*. With the root-meaning of a heap, יגר-אגורא corresponds in meaning to Hebrew במה, primarily a "height" (*e.g.* Dt. 32 13). Both words experienced the same development in meaning, coming to be used of the sacred mound or elevation, then of the precinct, and finally of the temple reared there. במה appears to be used in the latter sense in 1 Ki. 11 7; more accurately the structure is a בית במה, *e.g.* 12 31. We may compare the like development of denotation in Arabic *masjid* and Latin *templum*. The Aramaic-speaking Jews of Elephantine were thus using the Aramaic equivalent

[1] *Aramäische Papyrus*, 1911, pp. xxiii f.

of the Hebrew במה for their Yahwe-temple. What relation this native Aramaic word יגר-אגורא has to Assyrian *êkurru*, I leave to Assyriologists to determine. There may have occurred in this case one of the numerous artificial assimilations of Semitic and Sumerian words.[2]

2. שים על, 1 Ki. 20 12.

This technical term for attacking a city has its exact parallel in the Syriac; *e.g.* in the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus, in Gottheil and Jastrow's *Semitic Study Series*, xiii, p. 17, l. 2, and p. 34, l. 6. The phrase in the latter passage, סם על מדינתא, is identical with the Hebrew. There can be no objection in finding the same meaning for שים ל in 1 Sam. 15 2. Compare English "set at, make a set at," and Dr. Cobb cites for me a word of Prince Hal to Falstaff: "We two saw you four set on four."

3. Sukkoth-benoth, 2 Ki. 17 30.

It occurred to me several years ago that the original reading for this obscure phrase was best represented by the Greek text B, which has Ροχχωθβαινειθει; ροχ is for δοχ, a mutilation of Marduk, and βαινειθει is an abbreviation of the name of the Babylonian goddess Zer-p(b)anitum. Stade, I find, has made the same suggestion in the Polychrome Bible, *ad loc.* There remains for explanation the syllable *-oth-*. This doubtless represents an original ואת, so that the text primarily read: And the Babylonians made (or better, worshiped) את מרדך ואת (זר)בנית.

4. The barbarous syllables in Is. 28 10.

Duhm in his brisk fashion has correctly criticised the current interpretation of these words as "precept upon precept, . . . line upon line, . . ." He would understand them as onomatopoetic sounds taken from some proverbial phraseology. May these syllables be a pedagogic by-word taken from the schoolmaster's instruction in teaching the alphabet? "Ṣade

[2] This note was read at the meeting of the Society in December, 1910. Professor Margolis has briefly made the same suggestion for identity of אגורא and יגר in *JQR*, N.S. ii, 427.

for Ṣade, Ḳof for Ḳof," so we might say, but in this passage may be preserved elder or variant names of the letters צ and ק (cf. the names of ו and ת). The sing-song phrase may have attached itself to these letters because of their raucous rhyming. This interpretation would be in agreement with the pedagogic character of the chapter, and would heighten the contrast in the reference to "the strange lips and other tongue" with which Yahwe threatens to teach his people.

5. חזה, Is. 28 15.

In his paper entitled *Ro'eh and Ḥozeh in the Old Testament*, in the JOURNAL for 1909, p. 42, Dr. Jastrow argued that both these terms originally connoted divination; he showed that ראה is the *bârû* of the Babylonian, the practitioner of intentional auspices, and חזה is the observer of accidental omens. Jastrow discussed in this paper every important instance of חזה but one, the present case.

In this passage the commentators have endeavored to understand חזה as though it referred to a "vision" obtained with Hell, *i.e.* some necromantic rite. But it is evident that חזה is synonymous with the parallel ברית, even as the Greek understood them, — *διαθήκην . . . συνθήκην* (Sym. *συνθήκην* in both places). But Jastrow's discussion gives a clue to the understanding of חזה in our passage. This word and its parallel ברית denote a covenant founded upon, consecrated by, auspices. Our verse then presents the two roots *barû* and חזה, of which the latter is to the former as, according to Jastrow's thesis, חזה is to ראה, which, with Jastrow, equals *barû*. This equation further reflects corroboration upon the derivation suggested by Jensen for the connection of Hebrew ברית with Babylonian *barû*, used of auspices.[3] Our biblical verse not only gives us a hitherto misunderstood word from the vocabulary of divination, but also unconsciously offers the etymology for the much discussed ברית.

There remains the discussion of the form of the word,

[3] See Haupt in the JOURNAL, 1900, 59. It may be noted that this derivation for ברית is not to be found in Kraetzschmar's monograph, *Die Bundesvorstellung*, 1896, in the articles on "Covenant," in *HDB* and *EB*, nor in the Oxford Dictionary.

which is pointed as the Ḳal active ppl.; cf. ראה, v. 7. The pointing is impossible; the word is to be equated with (the aramaizing?) חוות of v. 18, to which it bears the same relation as גולה to גלות. Accordingly point חֹזֶה, רֹאֶה (v. 7), and read probably חֹזַתְכֶם, v. 18.

6. מבלין, Am. 5 9.

The usual interpretation of this verb connects it with the three biblical instances of the root בלג, "be cheerful, smile," with which are to be associated the names בלגה and בלגי, denoting the deity's complaisant demeanor (cf. יצחק). The corresponding Arabic root *balaja*, *balija*, means "be bright, joyous," the original idea being possibly that of the breaking of the dawn, in which case בלג is a variation of the more common theme פלג. But the usual rendering, "he flashes destruction upon the strong," is too forced an interpretation to commend itself to the present writer. I propose therefore to connect the verb with Arabic *walaja*, "come in," so that our Hifil is exactly parallel with יביא (so to be read for יבוא) in the parallel limb of the verse. *Walaja* is itself also to be connected with the theme פלג, proceeding from the meaning "divide, break open," to that of "entering." *PLG*, *BLG*, *WLG*, are thus variations of the same theme. A parallel is to be found in the Hebrew verbs מלט, פלט (occurring only in the derived stems), with which is to be connected Assyrian *balâṭu*, "live," for which, so far as I know, no connections have been established by the Assyriologists. The two Hebrew verbs, in the first stem, had the sense of "getting off with one's life."

7. הכל, Eccles. 11 5, etc.

Some instances outside of the Hebrew sphere may be adduced to Dr. Cobb's interesting paper on הכל as practically "the universe," in the JOURNAL, 1910, 24. In the Assyrian we have *Ea bân kala*, "Creator of the universe," Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 18; Sala as goddess *ša kullati*, Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, 331; the proper name *Sin-li'i-kullati*, "Sin is powerful over all," Tallquist, *Neobabylon. Namenbuch*, 319; and the royal title *lugal kalammu*, "king of the whole

(world)," Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumer. u. akkad. Königsinschriften*, 152. In the Syriac the divine title מרא כל, "lord of all," is frequently found, *e.g.* in the Life of St. Ephrem, Brockelmann, *Syr. Gramm.*, Chrestomathy, p. 26, and Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, p. 28, l. 21, *et passim*, here always written as one word. I may compare a similar epithet in one of the emperor Julian's orations, *ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιος*, cited by Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, 258, n. 80, from Hertlein's ed., *Or.* iv, p. 203, 5. Shamash, the Babylonian sun god, is also hailed as god of all, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 254.

8. The interrogative particle מי or מה.

In the JOURNAL for 1904, p. 95, the writer suggested that מי in Am. 7 2, Ruth 3 16, is an interrogative particle, corresponding to Latin *num*, Greek *μή*. The same use is required for מה in Jer. 2 5: מה מצאו אבותיכם בי עול, generally translated: "What falseness have your fathers found"; but this demands מה עול. Translate: "Did your fathers find falseness in me?" In the same way may be understood the unique expression in Dt. 5 23: מי כל בשר וגו׳, universally translated, "Who is there of all flesh who has heard," etc. But then we should have מי מן, as in Gen. 21 8. The difficulty is avoided by taking מי as the interrogative: "Has any flesh heard?" It may be observed that the interrogative pronoun, used exclamatorily, has become a negative particle, as already in classical Hebrew, and then an interrogative particle.

9. The correlative use of כי and אכן.

The most natural translation of כי in Is. 62 5: כי יבעל בחור בתולה יבעלוך בניך, is "as," — "as a young man marries a virgin," etc. The commentators who translate it "for" have to supply the necessary "as," while Lagarde, recognizing the difficulty, proposed כבעל (see Duhm, *ad loc.*). Further, כי is to be translated as "so," in Job 6 21, כי עתה היתם לי (reading לי for לו); here כי is supposed by some translators to be an error for כן, but unnecessarily. These

cases prepare the way for observing the correlative use of כי and כן in Is. 55 9: כי גבהין שמים מארץ כן גבהו דרכי; cf. the immediately following correlation in v. 10 f., כאשר . . . כן. Again, כי . . . כי may possibly be taken as correlatives in Job 31 11 f., *i.e.* "as it is a felony, so it is a fire that burns even to hell." But the usage is more evident in Gen. 18 20, where Yahwe says, זעקת סדם ועמרה כי רבה וחטאתם כי כבדה מאד. The translation of RV, "because . . . and because," misses the terse rhetoric. Also the preferable rendering of כי as an asseverative particle (*e.g.* Dillmann, Gunkel) evades the logic of the passage, for the Deity is thereby represented as forestalling his inquisition (v. 21) with a verdict. Rather he is depicted as drawing a *prima facie* conclusion from the fame of Sodom and Gomorrah's iniquity: "as the bruit of them is great, so is (must be) their sin grievous." That is, there is enough evidence, as with a grand jury, to call for an indictment and lead to a judicial examination.

This correlative use of כי is etymologically the same as that of the preposition כ, *e.g.* in כעם ככהן. The basis of both the conjunction and the preposition is a demonstrative element (see Duval, *Grammaire syriaque*, 164), which lends itself to correlation, as in the case of "here and there"; an exact equivalent to this correlative use of a demonstrative element is found in the English "the . . . the" in comparisons.

Correlation is also evidently expressed by אכן . . . כן in Jer. 3 20: "As a woman is false to her lover, so have you been false to me." Just below in v. 23 אכן . . . אכן may possibly be used in the same way: "Just as in vain are the hills, etc., so in Yahwe is Israel's help." אכן in these cases is to be connected with the Syriac *aikan*, "as" (which actually occurs in an Aramaic magical inscription from Nippur as איכין). For *â-ken* from *ai-ken*, cf. *ân* from *ain*, "where." Etymologically the proper correlative particles would be אכן . . . כן, as in Jer. 3 20, but confusion has probably arisen in the literary tradition.[4] Further, אכן in 1 Ki. 11 2 may be

[4] Cf. Haupt's notes on לכן and כן, *JBL*, 1910, 104.

the same word. Stade, *SBOT*, *ad loc.*, would change it to פֶּן on the strength of the Greek μή. But the Greek may be right without faulting the Hebrew. אֵיכָן, like the Syriac אֵיכַן and the Latin *ut*, may have come to denote purpose or end.

The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine

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I READ with great interest the article of Prof. W. R. Arnold in the JOURNAL, vol. xxxi, p. 1–33. But, though I agree with the distinguished author on many points, I cannot accept his conclusion that we have little reason for connecting Darius II with the directions given by Hananyah to the garrison of Elephantine for the celebration of the feast of passover, as found in Papyrus 6. Professor Arnold supposes that Hananyah is speaking, not by the authority of the Persian king, but on the commission of the priests at Jerusalem, and therefore he would read (ll. 3. 4): "This year, the fifth year of Darius the king, being sent from the king to Arsames, I, Hananyah, visited the city of Jerusalem" (or something of that sort). I object that this reading would not be complete. After having told that on his way from Darius II to Arsames he stopped over at Jerusalem, Hananyah could not immediately proceed: "Now, do ye count thus," etc. The suppletion, "I visited the city of Jerusalem," ought to be followed by: "when the priests gave me directions for the celebration of the feast of passover in order that I might deliver them to you" (or something of that kind). For such a long suppletion, however, we lack in the papyrus the required space. I believe, therefore, that Sachau was quite right in assuming that שלח in l. 3 is used impersonally, and I should like to read (ll. 3. 4): "And now, in this year, year 5 of Darius the king, (a message) was sent from the king to Arsames, relating to the celebration of the feast of passover by the Jews,"—if the last word of the lacuna is יהודיא,—or, "relating to the cele-

bration of the feast of Maṣṣoth, — if the last word of the lacuna is פטיריא, *azyma*. There is no space for more than the suppletion, "relating to," etc.; but this suppletion, as I have already pointed out, is postulated by the words which follow: "Now, do ye count thus," etc. And if this cannot be doubted, the authority by which Hananyah is speaking must be the authority of Darius II.

I have a few remarks to add:

1. Professor Arnold says (p. 18) that there is something decidedly queer about the expression: "this year, the fifth year of Darius the king, a message was sent from the king to Arsames," etc. He means that the time of the year ought to be mentioned also. In my judgment this opinion is perilously near the line of over-sublety. At all events, Professor Arnold forgets that Hananyah is only giving a report of the rescript sent by Darius to Arsames. That in such a report often only the year of the king was mentioned is shown by Ezra 6 3, and this is valid not only if the decree of Cyrus is authentic, but also if it is falsified, for we may take for granted that a falsifier would not disregard the usual formula.

2. In the opinion of Professor Arnold Papyrus 11 sheds light upon Papyrus 6. Certainly Papyrus 11 gives us some information about Hananyah. From this papyrus we know that Hananyah was not Egyptian born. A few years before Papyrus 11 was written he came to Egypt. But that is all the information it gives. It is impossible to show from the contents of this document that Hananyah came to Egypt in the year 419. Professor Arnold has felt this himself, for (p. 28) he says that Papyrus 11 was written some time after 419, taking for granted (from the contents of Papyrus 6) the very point in question, — that Hananyah came to Egypt in 419. That being the case, he has no reason for affirming on the basis of Papyrus 11 that it can no longer be disputed that the interpretation he gives of l. 3 of the passover papyrus is correct (p. 30). It is possible that Hananyah came to Egypt long before 419.

3. Though I believe that Hananyah in Papyrus 6 is

speaking by the authority of the Persian king, I think that Professor Arnold is quite right in assuming that the passover papyrus gives us a picture of the new-born Judaism reaching out to reform and control the half-heathen Judæans of the Diaspora, for doubtless it was at the instance of this new-born Judaism that the Persian government concerned itself with the religious affairs of the Jews, or rather sanctioned and promulgated the priestly decrees.

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Concerning Hiram ("Huram-abi"), the Phœnician Craftsman

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THE group of passages discussed in the present paper gives good illustration of the precarious character of some of the "accepted results" of modern textual criticism of the Old Testament, and also contains an excellent example of the Chronicler's literary method, in improving the older material which passed through his hands. In either respect the case here presented is a thoroughly typical one, namely the allusions in the books of Kings and Chronicles to Hiram, or "Huram-abi," etc., the skilled Phœnician artificer who aided Solomon in building the Temple in Jerusalem, and whose name (in one form or another) often holds such a prominent place in fanciful accounts of the origin of the Order of Freemasons.

The name of this craftsman appears several times in I Kings, and always in the same form, *Ḥīrām*, חִירָם, the same name as that of the Tyrian king himself. The passages are repeated, with more or less embellishment, in II Chronicles, but there our Hebrew text seems at the first glance to give the name in several different forms, no one of which is quite like that in Kings. According to our modern

commentators, the Chronicler has preserved (*somewhere!*) the original form of the name, that in I Kings being in any case a corruption of the primitive reading; but just what the original form was, no one has succeeded in demonstrating, nor has any one given a plausible explanation of the supposed alteration of the Hebrew text.

It will simplify matters to state, at the outset, that our Hebrew text of Chronicles has everywhere חורם, *Ḥūrām*, instead of חירם, *Ḥīrām*, whether the name is that of the king or of the craftsman. This may possibly be due to alteration of the original text of Chronicles, but such alteration is not at all likely under the circumstances. In I Kings both the Hebrew text and the Greek version testify uniformly to *Ḥīrām*, and it would therefore be a most improbable thing for any scribe or redactor to alter *uniformly* to חורם in all the passages in II Chronicles. We may be reasonably sure, on the contrary, that the Chronicler himself wrote everywhere חורם. In our Greek Bible, Theodotion's rendering[1] of Chronicles would restore everywhere the form *Ḥīrām*, doubtless a mere harmonization of the familiar type.

The first of the passages in which Hiram the artificer is mentioned is **I Kings 7 13 ff.** (**Grk. 7 1 ff.**): "13 And King Solomon sent and took Hiram, [a man] from Tyre, 14 whose mother was a widow of the tribe of Naphtali, and whose father was a man of Tyre, a worker in bronze. And he [*i.e.* Hiram] was a most expert craftsman, . . . and he came to Solomon the king, and did all his work."

In **II Chron. 2 12 (13) f.** this is put, very characteristically, in the form of *a letter from King "Huram"* (2 10)[2] *to King Solomon.* The instructive value of this remarkable instance of the Chronicler's literary habit has been generally overlooked. Why the epistolary form, when the old material was preserved, and no essential changes in the narrative were made? Obviously because he was one who cared very

[1] For evidence of the fact that our Greek version of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, is the work of Theodotion, I may refer to my *Ezra Studies.*

[2] Observe what was said above in regard to the form of the name in Chronicles.

much for striking detail in the history of his people. He was a writer with a strong imagination and a love of the picturesque. That it was the Chronicler himself who was the scene painter, and not some older writer (or 'midrashic (!) source') from whose work he borrowed, I think I have made sufficiently clear in my *Ezra Studies*, pp. 229–238. As I have there demonstrated, the same manner of literary treatment, similar picturesque incidents, even the same favorite phrases, appear in all parts of the history alike; both where the older narrative is embellished by him, and also in the many passages which no one doubts are the work of his own hand. In the additions to Samuel and Kings (including the lesser alterations), in the whole of the Hebrew portion of Ezra and part of the Aramaic, and in a considerable part of Nehemiah, we see the characteristic handiwork of the same literary genius. Here, in the incident of the correspondence between the two kings, we have an especially fine example. The Chronicler — for we know that it was he, and no other — saw the opportunity to do here what always seemed to him important to be done. Wherever possible, he dwelt upon and magnified the relations of the Hebrews with foreign powers (*Ezra Studies*, p. 210), very much as his kindred spirit, Josephus, did at a later day (*ibid.*, pp. 151, 154). We shall see further illustration of this tendency in some of the remaining passages dealing with the incident of Hiram, the Phœnician expert.

To return to the letter. After greetings and compliments, the letter proceeds (**II Chron. 2 12 f.**): "12 And now:[3] I hereby send to you a skillful and wise man, לְחוּרָם אָבִי; 13 the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and whose father was a man of Tyre. He is one who knows . . . [and then are enumerated the eleven things that he knew better than anybody else]; and he is able to carry out all the ideas which may be given him by thy wisdom or by the wisdom of my lord, thy father David."

[3] וְעַתָּה, the Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic וּכְעֶנֶת and the Syriac ܗܫܬܐ (see the *Journal of the Am. Oriental Society*, vol. xx, p. 265); cf. II Kings, 5 6, 10 2 f.

Here are the statements of the Book of Kings, varied in the Chronicler's own way. The substitution of "Dan" for "Naphtali," which is probably not a real contradiction, was made for some good reason which we have no means of knowing. The exaggeration in the form of statement is harmless.

The chief point of interest is the form in which the name of the craftsman is given, חורם אבי. It is at present the well-nigh universally accepted view that 'the Chronicler has preserved the original form,' that in Kings being wrong, and that the name of this expert was "*Huram-abi*"; so the commentaries, dictionaries, histories, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and so on.[4] A few would prefer the form "*Hiram-abi*," to be sure. This conclusion involves not only 'emendation' of three passages in Kings, but also of the other passages in Chronicles, as will presently appear.

The fact is, the word אב here is *not* a part of the proper name, but the noun meaning "right-hand man," "trusted counsellor," as in Gen. 45 8, I Macc. 11 32, Greek Esther 13 6 (add. to 3 13), 16 11 (add. to 8 12), etc.; cf. also Judg. 17 10, 18 19. The correct rendering is: "I hereby send to you a skillful and wise man, Huram, *my trusted counsellor*." The attempt has frequently been made, of course, to render it in this way here, — ever since the Greek version, — but the attempts all seemed to shatter on the *other* principal passage in Chronicles, as will presently be seen. Hence the general acquiescence in the view now prevailing.

The other occurrences of the name in the older narrative are found in **I Kings 7 40. 45**: "40 And Hiram made . . . [the various utensils for the temple], and Hiram finished all the work which was given him to do." And again: 45 [after the enumeration], "the things which Hiram made for King Solomon in the house of Yahwè."

These two passages are reproduced in **II Chron. 4 11. 16.** The first is unaltered, except in the form of the name: "11 And Huram made . . . " [the utensils which are named].

[4] Our English renderings (Authorized Version and Revised Version) are so evidently mistranslations as to require no discussion.

The second passage is very characteristically improved: 16 [after the enumeration] "these and all the utensils belonging thereto made חוּרָם אֲבִיו לַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה for the house of Yahwè."

This latter passage is regarded as decisive, showing that our Hebrew texts have gone through a complicated process of corruption. The accepted translation, which seems to receive strong support from the wording of the parallel passage in Kings, renders as follows: "These and all the utensils belonging thereto made *Huram-abi for King Solomon* for the house of Yahwè." To be sure, the reading אביו gives a good deal of trouble, and not a few have preferred to regard *this* as the original form of the 'second element' of the name, and to suppose this founder of the Masonic Order to have been called "*Huram-abiu*" [5] (or perhaps "*Hiram-abiu*").

But the accepted translation of the passage is wrong. Here, again, the noun אב has the same meaning as before. He who had been styled (*by the Chronicler*) "the right-hand man" of the king of Tyre is now, with one of the Chronicler's own literary touches, termed "the right-hand man of King Solomon." The construction is an Aramaic one, paralleled several times in the later Hebrew of the Old Testament; see the passages cited in König, *Syntax*, p. 256 f. The correct rendering of the verse is: "These and all the utensils belonging thereto made Huram, *the trusty counsellor of King Solomon*, for the house of Yahwè." As in the former passage by the incident of the letter from the one king to the other, so here again by the use of the word אב, the Chronicler has increased the interest of the narrative and added to its picturesqueness. It is an example of his skill that ought not to be overlooked.

The name of the Phœnician craftsman, as originally written in the narrative of Kings, was undoubtedly *Hiram*, the same as that of the king of Tyre. The Chronicler probably wrote both in the form *Huram*, but we certainly have no good reason to prefer that form. The Hebrew text is sound in all of the passages involved, both in Kings and in Chronicles.

[5] Often written *Abiv*, or even *Abif*.

The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.

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IN writing the article "Demons, Angels, and Spirits (Hebrew)" for Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, considerable material was gathered on the names of individual spirits which the scope of the article — a part of an article on the spirits of all nations — made it impossible to use. The material is, accordingly, presented here.

In the earlier time the various angels and demons in which the Hebrews believed were not sufficiently personal to bear individual names. Apart from Satan, Azazel, Rahab, Leviathan, and, possibly, Lilith, we find only names for classes of beings. A great change is traceable in the literature of the second century B.C. and the centuries which followed. Proper names were then bestowed upon many spirits both good and bad. Two of these names, Gabriel and Michael, occur in the Book of Daniel (8 16 10 13. 21), but the apocryphal literature affords a considerable number.

The following is an alphabetical list of the good angels whose names are given in the various books:

Adnârel (according to Schwab[1] = אדניאל = אדנראל, 'my Lord is God'), an angel who, as second in rank, controls a fourth of the year or one of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 14). The name is a variant of *Narel* (see below), which appears in the same context.

Arsyalalyur, an angel who, according to Dillmann's text of En. 10 1, was sent to Enoch with a message from God. One MS reads *Asrēlyēr*, and the Greek texts read *Istrael* and *Ouriel*. The name is, therefore, a corruption of *Israel* or *Uriēl*.

[1] *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie*, Paris, 1897, p. 42.

Asfael, an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20); probably a corruption of *Joseph-ēl*, 'God adds' (or 'repeats'),[2] or 'increase of God.'

Berekeel, an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17). The name means 'my blesser is God' or 'my blessing is God.'

Fanuel, an angel who presides over penitence and the hope of eternal life (Eth. En. 40 9), who administers punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), and who is one of the four archangels of the throne (40 2. 9. 10 71 7-13). The name is a corruption of *Penuel* (see below).

Gidaiyal or **Gedael**, meaning 'fortune of God' or 'divine good fortune' — an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

Gabriel, 'man of God' or 'hero of God.' He is a good angel, who explains visions to Daniel (Dan. 8 16 10 4 ff.) (Eth. En. 9 1), an archangel (Slav. En. 21 3), one of the four angels of the throne (Eth. En. 40 2. 9. 10, 71 7-13, Sib. Or. ii, 215), is over the serpent, Paradise and the cherubim (Eth. En. 20 7), is over all powers (40 9), is an angel of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3). He conducted Enoch into God's presence when Enoch became an angel (Slav. En. 21).

Heel (*i.e. ḥai-ēl*, 'life of God'), an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

Helemmelek (*i.e. hᵃlammelek*, 'is it for the king?' or, according to Halévy, corrupted from אלימלך), an angel who rules three months of the year, or one season (Eth. En. 82 13).

Helayaseph or **Hiluyaseph** (*i.e. halᵉyôseph*, 'is it for increase?'), an angel of one of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17).[3]

Iyasusael (*i.e. yasus-ēl*, 'may God exult'), an angel of a fourth part of the year (Eth. En. 82 14).

Iyelumiel or **Elomeel** (perhaps a corruption of *'alônê-ēl*, 'trees of God'), an angel of a fourth of the year (Eth. En. 82 14).

Keel (*i.e. kᵉēl*, 'like God'), an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

Kesbeel or **Kasbeel** (probably a corruption of *kebes-ēl*, 'fuller of God' or 'cleanser of God'), an angel who reminded others of their oaths (Eth. En. 69 13).

Meleyal (*i.e. malē-ēl*, 'fullness of God'),[4] an angel who rules three months of the year (Eth. En. 82 13).

Milkiel (Eth. En. 82 13), corrupted to *Melkeyal* (v. 15), an angel who rules the summer months. His name means 'my king is God.' He was also called '*Tamaani*,' and 'sun' (Eth. En. 82 15).

Michael (*i.e.* 'who is like God?'), the guardian angel of Israel (Dan. 10 13. 21). He is one of the good angels (Eth. En. 9 1), one of the four angels of the throne (40 2. 9. 10, 71 7-13, Sib. Or. ii, 215), is set over the ser-

[2] According to Schwab, p. 68 = אספיאל, 'angel of reunion.'

[3] Schwab, *op. cit.* p. 58, אליוסף.

[4] According to Schwab, *op. cit.*, 172, 'God fills [the world].'

pent Semyaza and the host of evil angels to punish them (Eth. En. 10 11), is accordingly accounted one of the angels of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), is set over the best portions of men and peoples (20 5), is slow to anger (40 9), commands another angel (60 4. 9. 11), discusses fallen angels (67 11), talks to other angels (68 4 69 14), conducts Enoch to Paradise (24 6), talks with him (60 5), takes Enoch to God, disrobes Enoch of his earthly garments, and puts on him his angelic clothing (Slav. En. 22 6 ff.).

Narel (*i.e.* 'light of God'), an angel who rules three months of the year (Eth. En. 82 13).

Penuel, one of the four angels of the throne (Sib. Or. ii, 215). His name, 'face of God,' is taken from Gen. 32 31, and is most appropriate to an angel who stands near to God. In the Enoch literature the name is corrupted to *Fanuel*.

Rafael (*i.e.* 'healer of God'), one of the four angels of the throne (Sib. Or. ii, 215). He was sent to heal Tobit's blindness, to give Sarah to Tobit, and to bind Asmodæus (Tob. 3 17). He goes with the young Tobias (Tob. 5 4-6. 21), teaches him to drive away an evil spirit (Tob. 6), is obeyed by Tobias as to the demon (Tob. 8 2 ff.), is sent by Tobias to Media (Tob. 9 1 ff.), on his return opened Tobit's eyes (Tob. 11 2 ff., 7 ff.), and finally revealed his identity (Tob. 12 15).

Raguel, an angel who took vengeance on the earth and luminaries (Eth. En. 20 4). The occurrence of his name in Eth. En. 23 4 instead of *Rufael*, shows that it is a corruption of that name.

Ramiel (*i.e.* 'my high one is God,' or, if the first element was *raḥam*, 'my compassionate one is God'), a good angel who presides over true visions (Apoc. Bar. 55 3 63 6). The Enoch apocalypses regard Ramiel as one of the fallen angels or demons. His presence in Baruch in a good character shows that the traditions were not uniform.

Rufael (a variant form of *Rafael* [5]), a good angel (Eth. En. 10 4 13 1), one of the four angels of the throne (Eth. En. 40 9 71 7-13) who acts as Enoch's conductor (22 3. 6 32 6). He is an angel of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), and was set over the sicknesses and wounds of men (cf. 40). He is said once to have talked with Michael concerning fallen angels (68 4).

Suryan, according to Dillmann's Ethiopic text one of the good angels (Eth. En. 9 1). The name is a corruption of *Rafael* as the Gr. text and better Ethiopic MSS show.

Uriel (*i.e.* 'light of God,' or 'my light is God'). He spoke to Enoch (Eth. En. 19 1), and afterward became his conductor (21 5. 9 33 3); he revealed to Enoch various astronomical secrets (72 1 74 2 75 3 79 6 80 1 82 7). He presides over thunder and trembling (20 2). He was sent at various times to Ezra (2 Es. 4 1 7 1 10 28. 29), and talked with him at various times, answering his questions (4 26. 36 5 15. 20 10 30 ff.).

[5] *Rufael* (i.e. *Rôfael*) is the Hebrew form; *Rafael*, the Aramaic.

Uryan, a good angel (Eth. En. 9 1). The name is a corruption of *Uriel*. Charles emends the text to *Uriel*.

Zalbesael or **Zēlbeseēl**, one of the angels of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17). Perhaps the name is a corruption of *zalpath-ēl*, 'God's sprinkler.' He would then be the angel of the rainy season. Schwab, *op. cit.*, 123, explains it as זלבשאל, *Zeh-lebh-she-ēl*, 'here is the heart of God.'

Zuṭel or **Zotiel**, a guardian of Paradise (Eth. En. 32 2). Perhaps the first element of the name is to be connected with the Aramaic *zûṭî*. The name would then mean 'little one of God.'

The conceptions of **Demons** which appear in the Apocryphal literature are of four distinct types. Two of these regard the arch-demons as fallen angels, but in one type this angelic genesis of demons is much more prominent than in the other. In the canonical literature Satan was regarded as one of the number of the Divine beings who formed Jahweh's court (Job 1. 2). The steps by which in the canonical literature he became the great opposer of good may easily be traced.[6] In one type of Apocryphal thought Satan became the arch-demon, who tempted man and led him astray (see Wis. 2 24 and Slav. En. 3 31). These writers simply took Satan over from the canonical literature, and his semi-Divine or angelic origin apparently was forgotten. The author of Wisdom apparently moved in an atmosphere of philosophic thought in which neither angels nor demons played any considerable part. The author of Slavonic Enoch, though he makes much of angels, has almost nothing to say of demons. He probably believed in them, but the interest of his narrative led him to place the emphasis elsewhere. These writers call Satan by the Gr. tr. of his name, *Diabolos*, or 'devil.' They identify him with the serpent of Eden, and account for the origin of sin by his agency in leading man astray.

The authors of Eth. En. 1–36 and of the Enoch Parables (En. 37–70) represent a different type. They are much more keenly interested in tracing the origin of demons and of evil. Instead of taking one arch-demon from the canonical literature, they go back to the narrative of Gen. 6 2-4, and account for the origin of demons and of sin by elaborat-

[6] Cf. *e.g.* Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iv, 597 ff.

ing the hint there given. Persian dualism had sufficiently influenced their thought, so that matter was to them corrupt. That angels should come to earth and have connexion with human wives implied, they thought, a previous rebellion and sin on the part of the angels. The hint which supplied the point of departure for this view was probably given by the story of Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job. These angelic hosts who sinned were numerous, but they were led by certain archangels, whose names are given somewhat differently by the two writers. These with their followers landed on Mount Hermon, and after satisfying themselves with human wives taught men various sins. One taught enchantments, another astrology, another the making of swords, another the art of abortion, and another that of writing. The one who taught the use of coats of mail and of swords also seduced Eve (cf. Eth. En. 6–9 and 69). These writers, like the author of the J document of the Hexateuch, regard the arts of civilization as having had a common origin with sin. Among the names of these arch-demons the canonical names of Satan and Azazel are found (see the list below), but these play a comparatively small part. The rôle of Azazel is more prominent than that of Satan. The larger number of these angels (and to these are attributed the most hurtful influences) are called by names not found in the canonical literature. What these names are and how they originated is pointed out in the alphabetical list of demons below. It appears from these names that many of them were called by names appropriate to angels. The degradation of these names to demons was in accord with the theory that they were fallen angels. In one passage (Eth. En. 21 6) they are identified with the stars. Having introduced sin into the world, these fallen angels were regarded as the presiding geniuses of various forms of transgression and corruption. They were themselves, however, thought to be already undergoing punishment. They were bound and were being tormented by a great fire (Eth. En. 21 5-10 54 1-5).

The Book of Tobit represents a third type of thought. In

it but one demon appears, — **Asmodæus**, — and he is clearly, as his name implies, of Persian origin. The author of this book had so come under Persian influence, probably by living in the East, that its demonology or demonological vocabulary influenced him more than did that of the canonical, or even the apocryphal, writings of his people.

A fourth type of thought is represented by The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah. In these works the demonology, while very real and all pervasive, is made up in a rational way, and such contact as it has with canonical thought is at quite a different angle of that thought. The world is thought to be pervaded by evil spirits, but these spirits are simply the personification of the evil propensities of man, — jealousy, lust, pride, chicanery, injustice, rapacity, etc. Writers who thus made evil spirits of the sinful tendencies of men about them moved in a somewhat different realm of thought from those who connected these evil spirits with the story of Gen 6 2-4, and gave to these spirits orthodox Hebrew names. Over this mass of evil spirits the two writers under consideration believed that **Beliar** presided. Beliar to them takes the place of the devil in Wisdom and the Secrets of Enoch, of Semyaza in the other Enoch books, and of Asmodæus in Tobit. Beliar is a form of *Belial.* Belial had been used by Nah. 2 1 (1 15) as the name of a great evil power. Possibly Belial was an old name for Sheol, though that is uncertain. If it were so, it is easy to see why these writers took it as the name of the prince and leader of all evil and destructive spirits.

To most of the Jews of the period, as indeed to most of the men of that time, the world was full of supernatural agencies. As there were angels to accomplish every good act, so there were demons or evil spirits to perpetrate every evil deed or to prompt every sinful impulse. Some of the writers, however, manifest no trace of this demonology; such are Ben Sira and the authors of the Books of Maccabees. The subject-matter of Sirach as well as the philosophical point of view of Ben Sira excluded any reference to them, while the author of 1 Mac. had probably come suffi-

ciently under incipient Sadduceeism so that demons had little or no place in his thought. To most men, however, demons in one form or another were very real, and played an important part in life.

The various fallen angels and demons mentioned in the literature, together with the functions assigned to each, are as follows:

Akibeel was, according to Dillmann's Ethiopic text, one of the arch-demons who led the hosts of revolting angels that married human wives (Eth. En. 6 7). The Gr. and Charles's Eth. text read *Kokabel* (see below). The name is a corruption of *Kokabel*.

Amezyarak (Dillmann), **Amiziras** (Charles), is the angel who taught conjurers and root-cutters their arts (Eth. En. 8 3). The Gr. text reads *Semiazas*, and the name is undoubtedly a corruption of *Semyaza* (see below).

Ananel (Eth. *Khananel*, 'favor of God'), one of the arch-demons who brought sin to earth (Eth. En. 69 2).

Anani, according to Dillmann's text one of the arch-demons who descended on Mount Hermon (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Ananel*, of which the name is in any case a corruption.

Arazyal (a corruption of *Sahariel*,[7] 'my moon is God') was one of the arch-demons who came to earth and married human wives (Eth. En. 6 7).

Aristiqifa (Dillmann), **Arṭaqifa** (Charles), one of the arch-demons who descended to earth and brought sin (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is probably a corruption of *Arakab*, 'rider,'[8] from Heb. *rākăb*.

Armaros, one of the archangels who fell (Eth. En. 6 7). He taught men conjurations (8 3). Dillmann thought the name a corruption of the Heb. *ḥerem*, 'something devoted.' Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, takes it to be חרם רז, 'he consecrates a mystery.' Charles, *Enoch*, 1912, p. 16, derives it from חֶבֶר, an incantation.

Armen, one of the leaders of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is evidently a corruption, but whether of *Ramiel*, which occurs in 6 7, or of *Arakiel*, which occurs in a Gr. text, it is difficult to say. If *Arakiel* is the name, it is perhaps a corruption of *Baraqel* (see below). Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, would derive it from the Aramaic ארקאל, 'God's earth.' This is very improbable.

[7] So Charles, *Eth. Version of the Book of Enoch*, 1893, pp. 14 ff., n. 23. In the *Book of Enoch*, 1912, he emends the name to *Sariêl*.

[8] Charles, *Eth. Version*, p. 227. Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, derives it from the Aramaic ארכב, 'he causes to ride,' 'the charioteer.'

Armers (Dillmann), **Armārōs** (Charles), a leader of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). Probably the same name as Armaros (see above). One form of the Gr. makes it *Arearos*, as though from the Heb. *'ārar*, 'to curse.'

Asael (Heb. *'asahēl*, 'God has created') was one of the leaders of the evil angels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name was borne by one of David's nephews (cf. 2 S. 23 24 2 18 ff.).

Asbeel (חשבאל, 'thought of God'), one of the archangels of evil, who led good angels to unite with women (Eth. En. 69 5). The name may possibly be a variant of *Asael* or *Azazel*.

Asmodæus (from Pers. *Aeshma-daeva*,[9] 'evil deity *or* spirit'), an evil spirit who had connection with a certain Sara, and who killed seven husbands as soon as they had married her (To. 3 8). He was bound by the angel Rafael (3 17), and finally, by Rafael's directions, driven away (8 2 ff.).

Asradel (Dillmann), **Asderel** (Charles), one of the evil angels who taught men the course of the moon. Charles[10] holds that the name is a corruption of *Sahariel*.

Azazel (supposed to mean 'entire removal' *BDB*), one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). Probably originally עזאל, 'strong one of God.' He is the wilderness demon of the canonical literature. He taught mankind metal work (8 1. 2) and wickedness (9 6 10 8). He is told by Enoch that he should have no peace (13 1); chains are prepared for him and his hosts, that they may be bound and cast into the abyss (54 5). He is to be judged by the Messiah (55 4).

Baraq'al (Dillmann), **Barāqāyāl** (Charles), (better with some MSS *Baraqel*, *i.e.* 'lightning of God'), the evil angel who taught astrologers their arts (Eth. En. 8 3).

Baraqel, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is the true form of the preceding one.

Basasael (Dillmann), **Basasaēyal** (Charles), one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The form of the name in Greek (Σαμιήλ or Σεμιήλ) suggests that it is a corruption of *bešami'el*, 'in the name of God.'

Baṭraal (Eth. En. 69 2, *Baṭaryal*), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Charles's text makes the name *Baṭarel*. It is, I think, a corruption of *bethû'ēl*, which is in turn a corruption of *methû'ēl*, 'man of God.'[11]

[9] Cf. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 150.

[10] *Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. 20.

[11] The derivation of Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie*, p. 90, and Schmidt (*Harper Memorial*, ii, 344), בחראל, 'hinder part of God,' is most improbable.

Behemoth, the male primeval sea-monster whose waters were embosomed with those of the female monster Leviathan to start the process of creation. The idea is borrowed from the Bab. creation epic (cf. Barton, *JAOS*, xv [1890], 17–20). Leviathan was a Heb. name for the Bab. dragon Tiâmat. In Job 41 Leviathan had been used as a poetical name for the crocodile, some mythological features having been mingled there with the description. In connection with the crocodile an interpolator of Job had described the hippopotamus under the name Behemoth, the plural of *bᵉhēmāh*, 'cattle,' using the plural intensively. The author of the Enoch Parables, finding Behemoth associated with Leviathan in Job, concluded that Behemoth was the name of the primeval male demon-dragon.

Beliar (same as **Belial**, 'worthless,' Hastings' *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, [vol. ii, 458]). The chief of demons and evil spirits in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah (cf. Test. of Reuben 2 1 6 3, Simeon 5 3, Levi 19 1, Issachar 6 1 7 7, Dan 1 7 4 7 5 10, Naphtali 3 1, Joseph 7 4, and Benj. 7 1. 2; Ascen. Isa. 1 8. 9 2 4 3 11. 13 4 2. 4. 16. 18 5 1. 4. 15).

Danel (*i.e. dani-el*, 'my judge is God'), one of the troop of evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Spelled *Danyal* in 69 2.

Devil (*i.e. diabolos*, 'calumniator,' 'slanderer' — the Gr. tr. of *Satan*). The arch-demon who tempted Adam and caused him to sin in Eden (Wis. 2 24, Slav. En. 31 3). These writers identify the Devil with the serpent of Gen 3.

Ezeqeel, one of the host of evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The Gr. form of the name, *Ezekiel*, shows that it was originally identical with the name of a Hebrew prophet, and meant 'may God strengthen.' [12]

Gadreel (*i.e. gadar-ēl*, 'wall of God'),[13] the angel who led Eve astray, taught men murder, the use of weapons and coats of mail (Eth. En. 69 6). His functions in the Enoch parables are similar to those assigned by the first Enoch apocalypse to Azazel. Perhaps *Gadreel* is a corruption of *Azazel*, and its identity with a good Hebrew etymology merely accidental.

Izezeel (Dillmann), **Azāzēl** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is, perhaps, a corruption of *Ezeqeel*, יחזקאל, of the list in 6 7,[14] to which it corresponds. Charles takes it to be a corruption of *Azazel*.

Kesdeya, an evil archangel who taught men the smiting of spirits and demons, the art of abortion, etc. (Eth. En. 69 12). This is simply כשׂדיא, 'Chaldæan.' The nation of astrologers (cf. Dan 2) which de-

[12] Schmidt's derivation (*Harper Memorial*, ii, 344), as an Aramaic compound, חשׁקאל, 'sky of God,' is very improbable.

[13] Charles takes it to be עזריאל, 'God is my helper.'

[14] Cf. Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, p. 227.

stroyed Judah is here made one of the demons who fell from a high estate.

Kokabiel or **Kokabēl** (*i.e.* 'star of God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7 69 2). He taught men the signs (8 3).

Leviathan, the primitive female sea-dragon and monster of evil. See above on *Behemoth*.

Nuqael (Dillmann; *Neqael*, Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Ezekiel*.

Penemue, an evil archangel who taught men to discern bitter and sweet, wisdom and writing (Eth. En. 69 8 ff.). Schwab, *op. cit.*, 223, regards it as פנימיה = 'the severe looks of God.' One MS gives the name *Tuniel;* it is probably a corruption of *Nathaniel*, 'gift of god.' Halévy and Charles take it to be פנימו, 'the inside.'

Ramuel (Dillmann), **Ramiel** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Perhaps from *Raḥamiel*, 'my compassionate One is God,' or Ramiel, 'my exalted one is God.'

Rumael, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). Perhaps a corruption of *Rum-'ēl*, 'height of God,' or *ram-el*, 'God is exalted,' or of the preceding name.

Rumyal, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2), a corrupt duplicate of the preceding.

Samsapeel, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name is a variant form of *Simapisiel* (see below).

Saraquyal, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads better, *Baraqiyal*, which makes it the same as *Baraqel* (see above).

Sartael, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Satarel*. It is probably a corruption of *Sathar-'el*, 'covering of God.' Schmidt takes it as an Aramaic formation, meaning, 'God's side.'

Satan, an archangel who, having turned away with the ranks of those below him, is hurled to the abyss (Slav. En. 29 4 31 4). He is the chief of the demons (Test. Gad, 6 7). Although he is being punished (Eth. En. 53 3), the earth-dwellers are subject to him (54 6). In Eth. En. 65 6 '*satans*' signifies demons in general. Satan is of course taken over from the canonical books.

Semyaza,[15] the leader of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 3. 7 69 2). The name is apparently the Heb. *shemî-'az*, 'my name is mighty,'[16] *shem* standing as in Lev. 24 11 instead of the name of God. He was the

[15] Also spelled *Shamiazāz*, Eth. En. 6 7 (Charles).

[16] Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 343 ff., derives it from the Aramaic שמא חזא, 'he sees the name,' or, שמיא חדר, 'he surveys the heavens.'

leader (Eth. En. 9 7) of two hundred angels who united themselves to women and whose wives brought forth giants (7 1. 2).

Simapisiel (Dillmann), **Simipesiel** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is evidently the same which appears above as *Samsapeel*. If this is the original form of it, it was a late Hebrew compound, *Sh^{e}ma'-pî-šĕ-'ēl*, 'hearken to the mouth of God.'[17]

Ṭamiel (*i.e.* תמיאל, 'my perfect one is God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7).

Ṭemel (Dillmann), the evil angel who taught men astrology (Eth. En. 8 3). The name is a corruption of *Tamiel*. Charles so reads it.

Tumael, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Tamiel*.

Ṭarel, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Turel* (see below). Charles reads it *Ṭurel*.

Ṭurel (Dillmann), **Ṭuruel** (Charles), (*i.e.* Aram. *ṭûr-'el*, 'mount of God,' or, Heb. *ṣûr-ēl*, 'rock of God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Schwab, *op. cit.*, 264, regards it as תוראיל, 'powerful beauty.' This is improbable. Charles regards it as a corruption of *Tamiel*.

Ṭuryal, according to Dillmann's text one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). Charles reads the name *Ṭurel*, which makes it the same as the preceding, of which it was doubtless a corruption.

Urakibarameel, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Arakibaramiel*. A comparison of 69 2 shows that here the names of two angels have been blended into one. The two angels were *Arakib* ('rider'?) and *Ramiel*.[18]

Yatreel, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Sathar-el*, 'covering of God'; cf. *Sartael* of ch. 6 7.

Yeqon, an archangel of evil who led astray all children of angels (Eth. En. 69 4). One MS reads the name *Qoyen*, i.e. *Cain*. This probably points to the real origin of the name. The first murderer was made a demon.

Yomyael, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name is a corruption of *Rumael*, which stands in the text of 69 2 — itself a corruption of *Rami-'el*, 'my high or compassionate one is God.' Charles takes it as יומיאל, 'day of God.'

Zaqebe, according to Dillmann's text one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Zaqiel*. The name is a corruption of *Ezekiel*.

As Charles had pointed out (*Ethiopic Version of the Book*

[17] Schmidt, *ibid.*, takes this to be a corruption of שמשאל, 'God's sun.' Charles, as שמשיאל, with the same meaning.

[18] Cf. Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 227. Also his *Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. 16.

of Enoch, 227 ff.), the lists of evil angels in the earliest Enoch apocalypse and the Parables (Eth. En. 6 7 69 2) go back to the same original. That original list the present writer would reconstruct as follows: Shemiaz, Arakab, Raḥamiel (or Ramiel), Kokabel, Tamiel, Daniel, Ezekiel, Baraqel, Asahel (afterward confused with Azazel), Ḥerem, Ḥananel, Shemapishael, Satharel, Turel, and Sahariel. Raḥamiel (or Ramiel) and Ezekiel were used twice over. This probably occurred through variations in the spelling which gave rise to doublets. Some of the others in our alphabetic list arose from other variant spellings of this original list.

The Descent of Christ in the Odes of Solomon[1]

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IN a former paper in the JOURNAL (vol. xxx, part 2, 1911) I advanced certain evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the Odes of Solomon were written by Bardaisan of Edessa (A.D. 155–222), and in concluding stated that I regarded the results there attained as tentative only, the verification of which must be deferred until a more thorough examination of the Odes in the light afforded by astrological and Gnostic speculation shall have been completed. It is my aim in the present paper, first, to examine from these latter points of view the conception of Christ's descent from heaven as found in the Odes, taking the most important and interesting document, the twenty-third Ode, as my text, and, second, to consider, in the light of the astronomical data afforded by that Ode, certain dates for the Annunciation recognized in the early centuries.

[1] Mr. F. C. Burkitt's article, "A New MS of the Odes of Solomon," *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, xiii (April, 1912), pp. 372–385, containing a collation of the printed text of the Odes with that of a tenth century MS discovered by him in the British Museum, came into my hands after this paper was written. The new MS contains from XVII, 7 to the end. I have noted its readings (N.) whenever they affect the sense of Harris's text (H.). — Mr. Burkitt remarks (p. 373) that my theory as to Bardaisan's authorship will not "commend itself to any one who is familiar with original Syriac literature. The Odes in Syriac are a creditable piece of work, but their language is a very different thing from the graceful and flexible tongue in which the Acts of Judas Thomas and the Dialogue on Fate are written. No theory of the origin of these Odes is satisfactory which regards the Syriac translation that we possess otherwise than as an exotic." As I had showed in my paper (p. 166) that, according to Epiphanius, Bardaisan wrote both in Syriac and in Greek (*Pan.*, Hær. 56: λόγιός τις ὢν ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ γλώσσαις, Ἑλληνικῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν Σύρων φωνῇ), and had stated (p. 170, n. 22) that I was "inclined to believe the original was Greek," it would seem that Mr. Burkitt had not read my paper before commenting upon it.

But if one would understand many allusions in the Odes which are at first glance perplexing, one must bear in mind the conceptions of the world of spirit and of its relations to the world of matter which occupied the thoughts of the poet. Whether the Odes are to be classed as Gnostic or not depends upon the definition of "Gnostic," but it seems to me indisputable that they contain certain ideas which were current among the Gnostics and were not current, although perhaps occasionally to be found, in other forms of Christianity. I shall therefore preface my study of the text of the Odes with a sketch of some of these ideas in the form in which the Gnostics knew them. In drawing it my sole object has been to give a distinct and faithful picture of this peculiar mode of thinking the universe. The order of presentation which I have adopted is therefore not intended to follow either the chronological order in which the several elements may be supposed to have aggregated themselves into a system or the logical order in which an individual thinker may be supposed to have constructed or arranged his system. Nor have I endeavored to portray any individual system. While most of our information comes from Valentinian sources, the leading ideas, to which I have tried to confine myself, were held by the Valentinians in common with other schools of Gnostics.

One of the root-conceptions of Gnosticism is its theory of spirit. Spirit is mind, but it is also light. Subjectively, a spirit is known to himself as mind or consciousness; objectively, he is seen by other spirits as light. If he possess a form analogous to those of human beings, his substance seems to be light; if he does not, he may appear as a beam of light or even as diffused light. The brightness of the light corresponds to the rank or degree of perfection of the spirit. The lowest are murky and dull; the higher blaze with a splendor infinitely transcending that of the sun.

The world of spirit, therefore, is a world of light. Individual spirits live and move and have their being at any given stage of their development in a certain region of this world. Above and beyond the region in which the spirit

finds himself lie realms upon realms of light, ever more and more dazzlingly brilliant. Each realm is itself an Intelligence, and all somehow stream from and are centered in an incomprehensible, ineffable, infinite Source. Below lie regions ever diminishing in splendor, passing from the radiance of light to the dull glow of fire, and thence to twilight, gloom, and dense darkness.[2] The darkness is the world of matter. In this darkness of matter can be seen here and there sparks[3] of light. These are embodied spirits. The brighter among them are the spirits of men morally and mentally more highly developed than their fellows, while in the ignorant and the vicious the spark is so dim as to be all but invisible.

Such was the picture of the real universe which was more or less clearly sketched in the minds of most if not all of the Gnostic philosophers. And the task which they set themselves was to give a complete account of this spiritual world, of its topography, so to speak, of its inhabitants, their names, the order and manner of their procession from their Source and of their relation to the world of matter; to explain how and why the "sparks" became entangled in

[2] These ideas are fully set forth only in the Coptic works (Pistis-Sophia: Latin translation by M. G. Schwartze, Berlin, 1851; German by C. Schmidt, *Griech. Christl. Schriftsteller*, xiii, pt. 1, Leipzig, 1905; English by G. R. S. Meade [from the Latin]; The Two Books of Jeû, German translation by Schmidt, *op. cit.;* An Unknown Old Gnostic Work, German translation, *ibid.*). A similar scheme can be traced in many other systems. Clement of Alexandria's argument (Exc. ex Theod., §§ 10–12), to prove that spiritual beings possess forms, is probably directed, as Heinrici (*D. val. Gnosis*, Berlin, 1871, p. 89) thinks, against certain Gnostic statements, nevertheless his conclusions, *e.g.* his distinctions between spirits of different grades as "intelligent fire," or "intelligent air," "intelligent light," and "unapproachable light," are good Gnostic doctrine. That spirits have, or may have, forms was held by many Gnostics.

[3] The conception seems to have been much the same in all the schools, but the terms varied. "Spark" occurs first in Satornilus's system (Iren. I, 18, vol. i, 197, Harvey), and is very common; other terms are "seed" (Exc. Theod., *passim*), "imprint," χαρακτήρ (Docetæ *ap.* Hipp. Ref. VIII, 9–10, pp. 416–18, D. & S.), "moisture of the light," ἰκμάς τοῦ φωτός (Ophites *ap.* Iren. I, 28, 2, Vol. I, p. 228, H.), which is probably intended to represent the Aramaic ṭallâ, "dew," *i.e.* the "sparks" in the underlying darkness are compared to drops of "dew," deposited by the light above.

darkness, and to set forth how they may be delivered and restored to the world of light. In accomplishing this task the Gnostics generally used freely the mythological, religious, scientific, and philosophical conceptions of their age. It is therefore not surprising that in many systems the astronomical and astrological conceptions then generally accepted play a leading part.

The world of matter extends as far as the circle of the moon. Next above lies the region of the seven planets, generally termed from them the Hebdomad, but also known by other names.

The region between the Hebdomad and the sky was called the Ogdoad.

The Hebdomad was subdivided into seven regions, each of which was ruled by the planet situated in it. It was also termed by some thinkers the "Mean" or "Midst,"[4] and conceived as consisting of fire,[5] which is the appropriate connecting link between light and darkness. The Hebdomad was also described as the "Right."

The sublunary region was known as the "Left," and was also probably conceived as subdivided into regions — in this case three, those of air, water, and earth, which represent the gradual shading off, so to speak, of light into darkness.[6]

Above the Ogdoad is the sky, which separates the world of light proper from the world below. In it is set the Cross (*σταυρός*), and both the Cross and the sky seem to be termed Horos (*ὅρος*), the Boundary Mark or Boundary. By the Cross should be understood, perhaps, the "St. Andrew's Cross," formed by the intersection of the ecliptic and the celestial equator. If, however, Valentinus, who seems first to have introduced this conception, really was an Egyptian[7] and had traveled as far south as Assouan, he may have had the Southern Cross in mind, which is there visible.

[4] See note 55.

[5] See note 55. Also Docetæ *ap.* Hipp. Ref., viii, 9, p. 418.

[6] Excerpta ex Theodoto (Stählin, *Gr. Chr. Schriftsteller*, vol. xii, pt. 3), § 28: *τὸ "θεὸς ἀποδιδοὺς ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεὰν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι" φασὶν . . . οἱ . . . ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου τοὺς τρεῖς τόπους δηλοῦσθαι τοὺς ἀριστερούς* κτλ.

[7] Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. d. Urchristenthums*, n. 479.

Above the Horos lie the realms of light. Each is a realm or region consisting of pure light, but each is also an intelligence. They were termed "Æons," and were conceived as the hypostatized thoughts of God. In most systems they were represented as emanated in pairs, male and female, each of which is the "consort" (*σύζυγος*) of the other, but there was no agreement among the several schools as to their number, order, or names. All taken together they were the "Pleroma," or "fullness," *i.e.* the "fullness of God" (Eph. 3 19).

I have said that light is mind, darkness is matter. But this sharp antithesis does poor justice to the subtleties of Gnostic philosophy. Strictly speaking, there is no matter. All that exists is mind in varying degrees of vividness. Absence of mind or total darkness is nothingness.[8] Hence each of the regions of which the universe consists is itself an intelligence, and the intelligence bears the same name as the place. The minor inhabitants proper to each place are usually conceived as emanations of the place precisely as the place itself is an emanation from a higher order of being. But besides the proper inhabitants, there are found in certain

[8] The problem was definitely put by the Valentinians. Ptolemy says in his letter to Flora [Epiph., Pan. Hær., 33, edited by Harnack in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, no. 9], v. 6: "For the substance of the Opposite (*τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ἡ οὐσία*) is corruption and darkness, for it is material and multifarious (*πολυσχεδής, πολυσχιδής al.*). But the substance of the Father of all things, the Unbegotten, is incorruption and self-subsistent light (*φῶς αὐτοόν*), simple and uniform (*ἁπλοῦν τε καὶ μονοειδές*). But the substance of this [intermediate being, the Mean (*μεσότης*) or Creator] has produced a kind of twofold power [lacuna], yet he is himself the likeness of the Superior (*τοῦ κρείττονος εἰκών*). Let not this [fact] unsettle your determination to learn (*σὲ θορυβείτω θέλουσαν μαθεῖν*) how from one Source of all things, which is and is confessed and believed by us to be One, the Unbegotten and Incorruptible and Good, these natures, that of corruption and that of the Mean, were constituted, seeing that they are of unlike substance, and that it is the nature of the good to beget and produce things like and of like substance with itself. For you shall learn, God willing, in due order both the source and the generation of this [evil principle], if you are found worthy of the apostolic tradition which we also have received by succession [and] with [it the ability] to test all doctrines by the teaching of our Saviour." But it may well be that the earlier forms of Gnosticism were dualistic, as Bousset holds (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, ch. iii).

places temporary inhabitants who will ultimately reach higher or lower orders of being.

The Pleroma is the proper place of the Æons. The Ogdoad is the place of Sophia, known also by many other names, who in the Valentinian and some other systems is a fallen Æon destined to return ultimately to the Pleroma. With her are the spiritual Christ and the purified spirits of men — so certain Valentinians. The seven regions of the Hebdomad are inhabited by the seven planetary spirits according to nearly all systems. The midmost of the seven is "Paradise," say the Valentinians, where the souls of the just which have not yet been wholly purified are temporarily detained, and here also, according to Theodotus, the "psychic Jesus" sits beside the "Place," the Ruler of the Hebdomad. Other systems people the Ogdoad and Hebdomad with an innumerable multitude of beings, many of which represent and bear the names of the constellations, decans, "places," signs, and other elements of astrology.

The regions below the moon are occupied by beings innumerable in multitude and low of grade. Among them are men and animals, demons of all sorts, and the Great Serpent or Devil, the representative of Darkness and Evil. We possess few details (save in Pistis-Sophia and the kindred works), and such scattered allusions as we do possess are not always intelligible.

The origination of this universe was described in nearly all Gnostic systems as due to emanation of the lower by the higher, and many of the leading ideas recur repeatedly in different systems, although the differences in detail are numerous and important. Into these questions, however, I need not now enter, as they are not directly related to the interpretation of the Odes which I wish to study.

The text of Ode XXIII runs as follows:

(1) Joy is of the saints,
and who shall put it on
if not they alone?
(2) Grace is of the elect,

and who shall take it
if not they that have trusted in it from the beginning?
(3) Love is of the elect,
and who shall put it on
if not they that possessed it from the beginning?
(4) Walk ye in the freely given knowledge of the Most High,[9]
for his delight[10] and for the perfection of his knowledge.

(5) His Thought was like a Letter,
his Will came down from the Most High;[11]
It was sent like an arrow from a bow,
which flies forcibly.

(6) There hurried towards the Letter many hands,
to intercept it and to take it and to read it;
(7) But it slipped through their[12] fingers,
and they were afraid of it,
and of the Seal that was upon it.
(8) For it was not permitted them to break its[13] Seal;
for the power that was upon the Seal was stronger than they.
(9) So they went after the Letter—
they that saw it—
That they might know where it would lodge
and who would read it and who would hear it.

(10) A Wheel then received it
and it alighted thereupon,[14]

[9] N. adds, "and ye shall know the grace of the Lord, for," etc.

[10] "his" should probably be taken in both cases in the objective sense—the Christian's aim is delight in God and the perfecting of his knowledge of God.

[11] So H.; N., and Harris's translation, "from on high." The difference is unimportant, for in the Gnostic idealism the place and its occupant are identical. See nn. 55, 56.

[12] The suffix and two verbs which follow are masc., showing that the metaphor, "hands" (fem.), is no longer clearly in mind.

[13] H., "his seal."

[14] Literally, "came upon it." Since both "letter" and "wheel" are fem., the proper reference of the verbs and pronouns of vv. 10–16 is often uncertain.

(11) And there was a sign with it [*i.e.* the Letter]
of a Kingdom and of a Rule.
(12) And everything that moved the Wheel
it [the Letter] mowed and cut down.
(13) And the multitude it held in check
who were opponents,
And covered rivers and crossed over
and rooted up many forests [15]
and made a broad Way.

(14) The Head came down to the Feet
because to the feet the Wheel had run.[16]
(15) And that which had alighted [17] upon it
was a Letter of command [18]
that all the Places should assemble.[19]
(16) And there was seen at its [the Wheel's] head [20]
the Head that was revealed,
the Son [21] of Truth from the Father Most High.
(17) And he inherited and took possession of everything,
and the thought of the Many was annihilated;
(18) All the apostates raged and fled,
the persecutors were quenched and became extinct.[22]

(19) The Letter was a great tablet
written wholly by the finger of God,
(20) And the Name of the Father was upon it
and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,
to reign for ever and ever,
Hallelujah.

The four opening verses are not intimately connected with the remainder of the poem; they are rather of the nature of

[15] N., "peoples."
[16] N., "feet"; H., "foot." Syr., "ran." But the English preterite might signify a continued or habitual action, whereas the Syriac signifies a single completed act.
[17] So also N.; H., "and that which was a sign upon it."
[18] N., "and a command."
[19] Read impf. for pf.
[20] So also N.
[21] With Labourt, omit the "and."
[22] So N.; H., "were enraged."

a prelude, designed to touch the feelings and awaken the devotional spirit. The ideas which they express, that love, joy, grace belong to "the saints," "the elect," only, that they "take" them and "put them on," and the emphasis laid on knowledge, are familiar Gnostic ideas, but are by no means restricted to Gnostic circles.

Verses 5–16 describe the descent of Christ from the highest realms of the spiritual world to the world of matter, symbolized as a "letter" sent like an arrow from a bow. The letter embraces two elements, God's Thought and His Will.

The same conception is ascribed by Irenæus and Hippolytus[23] to Ptolemy, the Valentinian. Bythos had two consorts (also termed "modifications" or "conditions"), Thought and Will. "For first," say they, "he *thought* to emanate something, then he *willed*. Wherefore also these two conditions or powers, Thought and Will, having been mingled, as it were, one with one another, the emanation of the Only-begotten and of Truth was due to connection, which [two] came forth, visibles from the invisibles, as certain copies and images of the two conditions of the Father, Intellect, of Will and Truth, of Thought. The male image is that of the later-begotten Will, the female of the unbegotten Thought, because the Will proved to be the power, so to speak, of the Thought. For Thought thought eternally the emana-

[23] Iren. Hær., i, 6 ; Hipp. Ref., vi, 38, p. 294 D. & S.; Epiph., Hær. 33, 1. Greek from Hipp. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον δύο συζύγους αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγουσιν, ἃς καὶ διαθέσεις καλοῦσιν, ἔννοιαν καὶ θέλησιν· πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνενοήθη τι προβαλεῖν, ὥς φασιν, ἔπειτα ἠθέλησε. Διὸ καὶ τῶν δύο τούτων διαθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεων, τῆς τε ἐννοίας καὶ τῆς θελήσεως, ὥσπερ συγκραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας ἡ προβολὴ τοῦ τε μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐγένετο, οὕς τινας τύπους καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τοῦ πατρὸς διελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων ὁρατάς, τοῦ μὲν θελήματος τὸν νοῦν, τῆς δὲ ἐννοίας τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπιγεννητοῦ θελήματος ὁ ἄρρην εἰκών, τῆς δὲ ἀγεννήτου ἐννοίας ὁ θῆλυς, ἐπεὶ τὸ θέλημα ὥσπερ δύναμις ἐγένετο τῆς ἐννοίας. Ἐνενοεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡ ἔννοια τὴν προβολήν, οὐ μέντοι γε προβάλλειν αὐτὴ κατ' αὐτὴν ἠδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἐνενοεῖτο, ὅτε δὲ ἡ τοῦ θελήματος δύναμις ⟨ἐπεγένετο⟩, τότε ⟨ὁ⟩ ἐνενοεῖτο προβάλλει. — Συζυγία, which I have rendered "connection," would perhaps be better represented by "marriage." At all events, σύζυγος was at this time the ordinary popular word for "husband" or "wife."

tion, but was not able herself to emanate of herself what she thought. When, however, the power of Will supervened, she emanated what she thought."

Clement of Alexandria's "Excerpts from the Writings of Theodotus and of the So-called Eastern Doctrines" have preserved an account of a similar theory and add some important details.[24]

"The Father, then, being unknown, willed to become known to the æons, and through reflection upon himself, as though become cognizant of himself, emanated a spirit of knowledge-subsisting-in-knowledge — the Only-begotten. So he also that came forth from knowledge, that is from the Father's reflection, proved to be knowledge, *i.e.* the Son, because 'through the Son the Father is made known.' The spirit of love is mingled with that of knowledge, as the Father with the Son and reflection with truth, when it comes forth from truth [read "from will"], as knowledge from reflection. And 'the Only-begotten Son abiding in the bosom of the Father' interprets the reflection through knowledge to the æons, as though indeed emanated from beneath his bosom, but when he appears here he is termed by the Apostle not 'Only-begotten,' but, 'as the Only-begotten,' 'the glory as of the Only-begotten,' because, although he is one and the same, Jesus is the First-born in the Creation but Only-begotten in the Pleroma, and he is the same, although he is to every Place such as it is capable of receiving."

[24] Exc. ex Theod., (Stählin) § 7. *Ἄγνωστος οὖν ὁ πατὴρ ὢν ἠθέλησεν γνωσθῆναι τοῖς αἰῶσι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκώς, πνεῦμα γνώσεως οὔσης ἐν γνώσει προέβαλε τὸν Μονογενῆ. γέγονεν οὖν καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ γνώσεως, τουτέστι τῆς πατρικῆς ἐνθυμήσεως, προελθὼν γνῶσις, τουτέστιν ὁ υἱός, ὅτι "δι' υἱοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγνώσθη"* [cf. Mt. 11 27, L. 10 22]. *τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης πνεῦμα κέκραται τῷ τῆς γνώσεως, ὡς πατὴρ υἱῷ καὶ ἐνθύμησις ἀληθείᾳ, ἀπ' ἀληθείας* [l. *ἀπὸ θελήματος*] *προελθὸν ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνθυμήσεως ἡ γνῶσις. καὶ ὁ μὲν μεῖνας "μονογενὴς υἱὸς εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς"* [cf. J. 1 18] *τὴν ἐνθύμησιν διὰ τῆς γνώσεως ἐξηγεῖται τοῖς αἰῶσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ προβληθείς, ὁ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὀφθεὶς οὐκέτι "μονογενὴς" ἀλλ' "ὡς μονογενὴς" πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου προσαγορεύεται, "δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς"* [cf. J. 1 14], *ὅτι εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν μὲν τῇ κτίσει πρωτότοκός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς, ἐν δὲ πληρώματι μονογενής· ὁ δὲ αὐτός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὢν ἑκάστῳ τόπῳ οἷος κεχωρῆσθαι δύναται.*

Hippolytus,[25] in his account of the Valentinians, has preserved a fragment which seems to belong to the same sphere of ideas :

"[The Father] was not fond of solitude. For, he says, he is wholly love, and love is not love unless the Beloved exist."

The first two accounts are obviously derived from a common source and supplement each the other. The Father thinks himself and wills to reveal his thought. Will involves both intention and motive ; his intention is to reveal himself, his motive is love. As long as the intention remains "in the bosom of the Father," it is his Only-begotten Son to whom alone the Father is adequately known ; when revealed it is "as the Only-begotten Son," for none of the lower "Places," the several regions or orders of spiritual being, can know God adequately — each receives of the revelation according to its capacity of comprehension. When the Father wills the revelation, there proceed from his bosom two "streams of air" (*πνεύματα*) or "spirits," one of knowledge (*γνῶσις*) from Thought, and one of love (*ἀγάπη*) from Will.[26] These "streams of air" are no doubt conceived by the writer, as by the Stoics, as at once spiritual and semi-material substances, or at least as spiritual substances which behave like the most tenuous material substances known to the ancients, air and flame.[27] Hence, upon issuing from

[25] Ref. vi, 29, p. 272 : . . . *φιλέρημος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν. Ἀγάπη γάρ, φησίν, ἦν ὅλος, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάπη, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ τὸ ἀγαπώμενον.* The term "Beloved" as a title of Christ, which occurs only once in the NT [Eph. 1 6], had a peculiar significance to the Valentinians, and occurs in a quotation from Valentinus given by Clem. Alex. [Strom. 6, 52, *ap.* Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. d. Urchristenthums*, p. 301] *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λαὸς ὁ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου ὁ φιλούμενος καὶ φιλῶν αὐτόν.* It occurs also twice in the Odes as a title of Christ, III, 5, "I love the Beloved" ; VII, 1, "As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over the Beloved."

[26] The text has "from Truth." But this is obviously impossible. Truth, as the feminine element in the first pair of æons, has not yet been emanated, and the emanation from Truth is not Love but Life (*ζωή*).

[27] Πνεῦμα as a technical term was first elaborated, if not first formulated, by the Stoics, but had become familiar to all educated persons long before the Christian era. Good illustrations from a Christian writer are supplied by the "Shepherd of Hermas," *Mand.*, v, 1 (the Holy Spirit is "darkened,"

the Father's bosom the two streams "blend" into a unity in which the two elements still subsist in new forms, thus constituting the first pair of æons, Truth, corresponding, as is appropriate, to Thought, and Intellect (*νοῦς*) to Will, "because Will is the power of Thought."

In Ode XXIII, then, two elements, Thought and Will, are supposed to enter into the composition, so to speak, of Christ. This throws light upon the symbolical picture of Ode XIX (see my former paper), in which two streams of "milk" are represented as proceeding from the "two breasts of the Father," and as being blended by the Holy Spirit in her bosom. The function ascribed to the Holy Spirit is novel, but in other respects, the emanation of the two streams and their blending, the theory is identical with the Gnostic doctrine above described.

The conception of "Will as the Power of Thought" here symbolized as the bow which dispatches the arrow, recurs also both in the Odes and in the Acts of Judas Thomas.

Ode VIII:

(18) I took pleasure in them
and am not ashamed of them,
(19) For my work are they
and the power of my thoughts. . . .
(21) I willed and fashioned mind and heart;
mine they are, and at my right I have placed mine elect.

"choked," "crowded out" of a man's heart by angry temper), *Mand.*, x, 3 (sadness mingling with the intercession prevents its ascending to the altar). Such conceptions are common among the Gnostics; see, for example, Exc. ex Theod., § 17, where Clement argues that the union of the divine with the human spirit is not, as the Gnostics held, a case of "blending," or, as we would say nowadays, of "chemical combination" (the term first defined in this sense by Aristotle, *de gen. et corr.*, i, 11; *de sensu*, 3, 440 *a* 31), but of "juxtaposition" (. . . *πνεῦμα γοῦν πνεύματι μίγνυται. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ κατὰ παράθεσιν τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ κρᾶσιν*). Similar conceptions occur in the Odes (*e.g.* III, 8, "I have been blended," in order to be found loving, with the Beloved"; iv, 9, "Thou hast given us thy communion," *i.e.* "a share of or in thyself") and in the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (*e.g.* vol. ii, Wright, p. 274), "Thou art seen to be his servant by . . . the communion of this God whom I preach" (same Syriac word). But this subject calls for a detailed study.

So in the "Acts" (II, 208, Wright) of Christ "He who was Thy Will, the Power of thy Thought," and, as in Ode VIII, of men (p. 165) "Thou whose mercy is upon men whom Thou hast willed and made."

The simile of the flying letter also occurs in the "Song of the Pearl" which is incorporated into these Acts.

Verses 6–9. As Christ descends, he passes through the various regions of the spiritual universe. The inhabitants of those regions see him and try to intercept and read the letter, *i.e.* try to comprehend him and his mission, but cannot do it. The "seal upon the letter," which was (v. 20) the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, they can perceive, but it frightens them away.

Virtually all of these ideas recur repeatedly in the various Gnostic systems, but the nature of the impression which Christ makes upon the denizens of the various regions is not always conceived in the same way. The oldest theory, that Christ's person and mission were concealed from the powers of this world, is suggested even by St. Paul, 1 Cor. 2 8, [the wisdom of God], "which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory," and is found in Ignatius (Eph. 19; see p. 193). The "seals" which Christ bears are mentioned in the ancient "Naasene" or "Ophite" hymn quoted by Hippolytus,[28] and are apparently supposed to protect Jesus and to enable him to pass through the æons:

[28] Ref., vi, 10, p. 176; trans. G. R. S. Mead, *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, London, 1906, p. 205, but modified by W. R. N.:

εἶπεν δ' Ἰησοῦς ἐσὸρ [l. ἰδού] πάτερ
ζήτημα κακῶν ἐπὶ χθόνα
ἀπὸ σῆς πνοῆς ἐπιπλάζεται.
Ζητεῖ δὲ φυγεῖν τὸ πικρὸν χάος,
καὶ οὐκ οἶδε πῶς διελεύσεται·
Τούτου με χάριν πέμψον, πάτερ·
σφραγῖδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι.
αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδεύσω,
μυστήρια πάντα διανοίξω,
μορφὰς δὲ θεῶν ἐπιδείξω·
καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῆς ἁγίας ὁδοῦ
γνῶσιν καλέσας, παραδώσω.

Jesus said: Father!
A searching of evils on the earth
[Inspired] of thy breath is straying!
It seeks to shun the bitter Chaos,
But knows not how to escape.
Wherefore, send me, O Father!
Possessed of seals, I will descend,
Through all the æons I will make my way;
All mysteries I will open,
The shapes of the gods I will show,
And the secrets of the Holy Way,
Calling [them] Gnosis (knowledge) I will hand over.

The notion that the descending God disguised himself during his descent is first ascribed to Simon Magus, who claims that he himself thus came down from heaven: "in every heaven I changed my shape to correspond to the shape of those in each heaven that I might not be perceived by my angelic powers."[29] In the "Ophite" system of Irenæus Christ has recourse to the same device, but he employs it to despoil the inferior spirits of their spiritual substance.[30] But in the later (?) form of Basilides' system given by Hippolytus (Ref., vii, 25–26) a very different theory is taught. Not the "Sonship" but "the Gospel came into the world and traversed every dominion and power and lordship and every name that is named, and it came in reality although nothing descended from above nor did the blessed Sonship depart from that unthinkable and blessed nonexistent God."[31] Just as a flame kindles "Indian naphtha" from afar, so the Sonship kindled and enlightened the mind of the Son of the Great Archon of the Ogdoad and through him the Great

[29] Epiph., Pan., i, 2, 2; *Hær.* 21: *ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ οὐρανῷ μετεμορφούμην φησὶ, κατὰ τὴν μορφὴν τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ οὐρανῷ, ἵνα λάθω τὰς ἀγγελικάς μου δυνάμεις.*

[30] Iren. Hær., i, 28, Harvey, vol. i, p. 238: Descendisse autem eum per septem coelos, assimilatum filiis eorum dicunt, et sensim eorum evacuasse virtutem.

[31] p. 370: . . . *ἦλθε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ διῆλθε διὰ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου· ἦλθε δὲ ὄντως, καίπερ οὐδὲν κατῆλθεν ἄνωθεν, οὐδὲ ἐξέστη ἡ μακαρία υἱότης ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀπερινοήτου καὶ μακαρίου οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ.*

Archon himself and the whole Ogdoad. In like manner the Ogdoad transmits the Gospel to the Hebdomad, the Hebdomad to Jesus, son of Mary, and he to us.

The Valentinian theory of the Excerpts occupies a position between these extremes. Christ descended, although not in such manner as to be separated from his Father, and encountered the lower spiritual beings, but he did not disguise himself. They did not know him simply because they were unable to comprehend him. Each "Place" apprehended him according to the measure of its capacity and so each apprehended him differently.[32] The doctrine of the Docetæ recorded by Hippolytus (Ref., viii, 10, p. 422) employs the same conception to explain the existence of sects among Christians.

The conception of the Ode seems most nearly akin to the Valentinian doctrine. The intermediate beings are aware of Christ's presence among them, they desire to know more, they recognize the "seal," and it fills them with such fear that they make no further effort to penetrate into the mystery which it protects. So in the Excerpts,[33] "the powers of the Right knew the names of Jesus and of Christ even before his appearance, but they did not know the meaning of the sign."

It is from the point of view of this Valentinian doctrine that I would interpret the 13th Ode:

> Behold the Lord is our mirror!
> Open ye your eyes and behold them in him,
> and learn the manner of your faces

[32] So Ephr. Syr. Hymn de Nat., iii (Opp. Vat. Ed., vol. ii, p. 413 B; trans. J. B. Morris, *Select Works of S. Ephrem*, etc., Oxf., 1847, p. 24): "The Angels as Angels saw Him; according to the measure of his knowledge each man beheld him; according to the measure of each man's discernment, thus he perceived Him that is greater than all. The Father and Himself alone are a full measure of knowledge to know Him as He is! For every creature whether above or below obtaineth each his measure of knowledge," etc.

[33] § 43, Λέγουσιν οὖν ὅτι αἱ δεξιαὶ ᾔδεσαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ᾔδεσαν τὴν δύναμιν. In § 23 a knowledge that Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and a virgin is ascribed to the "angels of the Right."

and tell forth praises to his Spirit;
Wipe off the filth from your faces
and love his holiness and put it on,
and ye shall be spotless always before him.
Hallelujah.

The Lord is our mirror because each of us sees himself in him — because our ability to perceive him is determined by the degree of our spiritual development.

The same idea occurs in the strongly Gnostic fragment of the Acts of John discovered and published by Prof. M. R. James.[34] Jesus says:

"I am a mirror to thee that perceivest me."[35]

That the meaning of the simile is the same as the Valentinian is implied in what seems to me the most probable interpretation of a corrupt passage in the same fragment:

"What thou art thou seest — this I have shown thee; what I am, this I alone know, no one else. Mine, suffer thou me to keep; thine, see thou through me. But really to see *me* is, I have said, not given, but [only] what thou canst know because akin [thereto]."[36]

Verses 10–16 of Ode XXIII describe Christ's arrival in the great Wheel of the Zodiac (*ζῳδιακὸς κύκλος*), his assumption of dominion over the powers that have hitherto controlled it, the homage they render him, and his first appearance to human eyes, as the Star of Bethlehem. Paragraphs 69–75 of the Excerpts supply so good a commentary upon these verses that I translate them in full.

§ 69. Destiny (*εἱμαρμένη*) is a combination (*σύνοδος*) of many opposed powers. They are not seen, nor are they manifest, yet they control the course of the stars and govern through them.

[34] Texts and Studies, v. 1, 1897.

[35] Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, Pt. ii, 1, 1898, p. 198, 12, *Ἔσοπτρόν εἰμί σοι τῷ νοοῦντί με.*

[36] *Ibid.*, § 101, p. 201, 15: *ὃ γὰρ εἶ* [l. *εἶ* Hilgenfeld] *σὺ ὁρᾷς τοῦτο ἐγώ σοι ἔδειξα· ὃ δέ εἰμι τοῦτο ἐγὼ μόνος οἶδα, ἄλλος οὐδείς. τὸ οὖν ἐμὸν ἐαΐμε* [l. *ἔα με* James] *ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ σὸν δι' ἐμοῦ ὁρᾶν* [l. *ὅρα* James], *ἐμὲ δὲ ὄντως ὁρᾶν, οὐ* [l. *οὐκ*] *ἔφην ὑπάρχειν ἀλλ' ὃ σὺ δέ νυ* [l. *δύνῃ* James] *γνωρίζειν συγγενὴς ὤν.* For other interpretations, see Bonnet, App. Crit. and Hennecke, *NT Apokryphen, Handbuch*, p. 534.

For each of them by virtue of its precedence [over others], as it rises with the motion of the Universe, gets the control over the [creatures] born under the influence of that very force[37] (*κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥοπήν*) because they are in a sense its children.

§ 70. Through the fixed stars and the planets the invisible powers which ride upon them manage and supervise births, but the stars themselves do nothing, they only display the operation of the ruling powers,[38] precisely as the flight of birds has a meaning, but effects nothing.

§ 71. So the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the seven stars which traverse them, sometimes moving in the same direction, sometimes in the opposite, when rising . . . they, being moved by the powers, display the motion of the real substance in its operation upon the birth of living beings and the modification of circumstances. But both the stars and the powers are diverse — beneficent, maleficent, right, left —[39] to all which in common the [creature] born belongs, and every [event] takes place through their influence at the proper time, for the [star then] ruling produces its appropriate effects, one at the beginning [of life], another at [its] end.

§ 72. From this rivalry and conflict of the powers the Lord delivers us and gives us peace [and release] from the array of the powers and of the angels, of whom some are arrayed on our side and others against us. For some are like soldiers fighting for us, as one would expect of God's ministers, but some are like bandits, for the Evil One was not girded with his sword by the King, but snatched it in rebellion for himself.

Because of our opponents, therefore, who through the body and our surroundings get aboard the soul and bond it into slavery, those of the Right are not able to keep pace with them so as to keep us safe and protect us. For they are not perfectly careful, like the Good Shepherd, but each is like the hireling who sees the wolf coming and flees, and is not eager to give his life for his own sheep. Moreover, man, on whose behalf is the conflict, is a feeble creature, easily influenced for the worse, and coöperates with them that hate him, whereby his evils are multiplied.

[37] The force of the celestial "wheel" which it communicates to the dominant star, and which the star transmits to earth.

[38] The "force" exerted by the stars is not to be conceived as operating mechanically, as, *e.g.* by Ptolemy, but as the "motion of the real substance" (§ 71), *i.e.* spiritual light and substance, of which the heaven and the stars are the sensible expression.

[39] The beneficent are "those on the right," as in the Book of the Laws (see my former paper, pp. 180, 190, 204), and, seemingly, in Ode XIX.

§ 74. For this reason the Lord came down to make peace, the peace of heaven, for those on earth — as the Apostle says, "Peace on earth and glory in the highest." Therefore there arose a foreign Star and a new, destroying the ancient star-rule, shining with a new light not that of the firmanent, taking new and saving paths — the Lord himself, Pathfinder (ὁδηγός) of men, descending upon earth in order to transfer those that believed in the Christ from Destiny to his Providence.

§ 75. That there is a Destiny for others, say they, the effects foretold prove, and the science of astrology (ἡ τῶν μαθημάτων θεωρία) also is an obvious proof. Hence the Magi not only saw the Star of the Lord, but also perceived the truth, that a King had been born, and King of whom, namely of the pious. At that time Jews alone were famed (διαβόητοι) for piety. For this reason, therefore, the Saviour, when coming down to the pious, came first to those who at that time had won a name (δόξαν ἀποφερομένους) for their piety.

(§§ 76, 77 teach that baptism delivers us from the power of the evil spirits.)

§ 78. Until Baptism, then, Destiny is, they say, true, but after it the astrologers no longer speak the truth.

§ 25. The Apostles, they say, were translated to the twelve signs of the zodiac. For as birth is regulated by the latter, so is the new birth under the supervision of the Apostles.

The writer of the Odes does not tell us what he imagined that "sign of a Kingdom and of a Rule" to be which Christ bore with him and which enabled him to overcome all obstacles in his descent to earth, nor is it possible, in view of the inexhaustible fertility of Gnostic fancy, to do more than conjecture how he pictured it. Since Christ was a being from the higher light-regions, the poet probably conceived his descent as like that of a brilliant meteor plunging into the abyss of darkness below, and it may well be that the sign was nothing other than the dazzling brilliancy of his light. So in the account of Christ's ascent given in Pistis-Sophia, c. 11 sqq., emphasis is always laid upon the dazzling light of his mystery-garment[40] and upon the fear and awe which it inspires in the inhabitants of the various regions through

[40] See also Harris's discussion of the "coats of skin," pp. 66 sqq., of his first edition of the Odes. Compare n. 63[a].

which he passes. But his garment bears also the mystery-names of the innumerable beings whom he is to encounter, and these names cast a spell upon their possessors. Whether the poet had any such thought in mind it is not possible to say with certainty, but since the "Seal" which frightens away the spirits is the name of the Trinity, the Sign, which seems to be distinguished from the Seal, may be something like the garment of light of Pistis-Sophia.

The things "which move the Wheel" are "the invisible powers which ride upon" the fixed stars and planets (Exc. Theod., § 70); the "opponents" are the "powers that are arrayed against us" (*ibid.*, § 72), the "rivers and forests" are poetic similes for the antagonistic powers which Christ encounters and overcomes. The "forests" I have not met with elsewhere, but the "rivers," especially of fire, abysses, "waters of fire," occur elsewhere with reference to the regions below the moon, and probably with reference to the Hebdomad also.[41] Thus in descending Christ brushed aside all obstacles and "made a broad Way"; this is the Way by which we also are to travel from the regions of darkness to the realms of light. As a meteor leaves a train of light behind it in its flight, so Christ has left the "footprints of his light" behind him, thus "blazing" the path from earth to heaven for us. This is, I am convinced, the meaning of those perplexing verses of Ode VII:

(12) Therefore he (God) had mercy on me in his great mercy,
and granted me that I should ask of him
(13) and should receive of his Sacrifice;[42]
Because he [= the Sacrifice, *i.e.* Christ] is incorruptible, the Perfection [= Pleroma?] of the Worlds [= Æons?] and their Father.

[41] Acta Philippi, *AAA*, ii, 2, p. 86, 2; Acta Joannis, *ibid.*, ii, 1 p. 214, 4; Exc. Theod., § 38: "Gedicht des Jacob von Sarug üb. d. Palast," etc. *ZDMG*, i, 1871, v. 470. See p. 188 sqq.

[42] Nestle's suggestion, that the Syriac translator has mistaken *οὐσίας* for *θυσίας*, is not needed to make the passage intelligible. The Syriac word here used can denote the victim, *e.g.* Rom. 12 1, where the Peshitta uses it to

(14) He (God) hath granted to him that he should be
seen of them that are his,
(15) that they might confess him that made them,
and might not think they were of themselves.

(16) Knowledge [= gnosis (?)] did he make his Way,
he made it broad, and he made it long,[43]
and brought it to all perfection [= the whole
Pleroma?]
(17) And he put upon it the marks [lit. "footprints"] of
his light,
and it went from the Beginning even to the End.

(18) For the work was his (God's) doing,
and he was well pleased with the Son,
And because of his salvation,[44]
he (the Son) shall have power over all things.

With the conception here suggested of the way between heaven and earth as a path of light, one may compare another picture from the Gnostic Acts.

translate *θυσίαν* in *παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν*. The conception of partaking of Christ's sacrifice in a literal, but also spiritual, sense is characteristic of Gnostic soteriology. A kindred, but different, conception occurs Ode XX, 1:

I am a priest of the Lord,
he it is whom I serve as priest,
to him I offer the offering of his Thought (cf. Rom. 20 1, *τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν*).

With the doctrine that Christ is the Father of the æons or worlds compare Mart. Matt., *AAA*, ii, 1, p. 220, 2, [Jesus, in the form of a child speaks to Matthew of Herod who wished] "to kill the child Jesus, who is older than the æons, but of all these æons I am the Father"; and with this compare Ode XXVIII, 15, "I was older than their memory;" Herm. Past. S., ix, 2, *ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἐστιν ὥστε σύμβολον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῶν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πάλαιός ἐστιν, κτλ*; Acta Joannis, *AAA*, II, 1, 212, 1, *Ἰησοῦ, ὁ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων πατήρ κτλ*.

[43] So R. H. Connolly, "The Odes of Solomon: Jewish or Christian," *Jour. Theol. Studies*, January, 1912, 298–309.

[44] *I.e.* as a reward for the salvation which he wrought for man. The peculiar Christology of the Odes demands special study; it will suffice for the present to refer to XXXI, 4–5. The text can, however, be translated, "And for the sake of its salvation," *i.e.* that of the universe.

Acts of Philip, ch. 138 (*AAA*, ii, 2, p. 70). [At Philip's request the earth has opened and swallowed up a vast multitude of men, women, and children ; Christ appears and rebukes him ; he asks that they be brought up again] "and the Saviour turned and stretched out his hand and drew in the air a cross descending from above into the abyss, and the abyss was filled with light (*al. lect.*, and the cross was full of light), and the cross was like a ladder with steps, and the Saviour cried to those in the abyss and said, 'Come up all by the cross, because the Apostle Philip also has now taken pity on you through me that ye should again see the light of God.' And behold, the whole multitude of those that had gone down into the abyss went up (*al. lect.*, went up on the ladder of the cross of light)," etc.

It is probable that Ode XXXIX deals with the same theme as Ode XXIII. But the imagery is here taken for the most part from the Gospel story of Christ's walking on the water and the significance of the picture is not so clearly indicated as in the illustrations just given:

(1) Mighty rivers are the powers[45] of the Lord:
(2) Those that despise him
they sweep headlong:
they confuse their paths,[46]
(3) and wash away their fords,
and carry away their bodies,
and destroy their lives,
(4) for they are swifter than lightning and quicker.
They that cross them in faith shall not be moved,
(5) and they that walk on them without stain shall not fear,
Because the Sign upon them is the Lord,

[45] Read emph. pl. without pron. suff., and take it as subject. If "rivers" be taken as subject the following statements are singularly inappropriate. Why are flooded rivers "the power of the Lord"? Why "swifter than lightning"? How did the Lord "bridge them by his Word" (*i.e.* Logos)? The reading that I suggest removes all difficulties. These "powers" are the spiritual beings whose function it is to intercept the unredeemed souls and carry them away to punishment (see p. 186 and note 41).

[46] Pl. points; so N.

(6) and the Sign is the Way
of them that cross in the Name of the Lord.
(7) Put on then the Name of the Highest and know him,
and ye shall cross without danger,
while the rivers obey you.[46a]
(8) The Lord bridged them by his Word,
and walked and crossed them afoot;
(9) His footprints remain on the waters
and have not been destroyed,
but are like the Wood[46b] established in truth.
(10) On this side and that the billows arose,
and the footprints of our Lord Christ remain,
and are not erased nor destroyed;
They were made[47] a Way for them that cross after him,
That follow the Way of Faith[48]
and worship his Name.

Ode XXXVIII is probably, as Harris has suggested (*Expositor*, July and November, 1911), an elaboration of a text supplied by Ps. 43, "Oh, send forth thy light and thy truth; let them lead me, let them bring me to thy holy hill." The imagery by means of which the theme is developed is suggested by the conception of the Way of Truth as a path of light leading from earth to heaven, but the poet is thinking rather of the approach to that Way, the Christian's life on earth, during which the Truth preserves him from the danger of error as it will hereafter protect him from the perils of the Midst. I shall quote only the opening verses:

[46a] Cf. Acta Joannis *AAA*, II, 1, 214, 4; [the dying Apostle prays] "As I come to Thee, may fire withdraw, darkness be vanquished, chaos enfeebled, may the furnace go out, hell be quenched, may angels follow, demons fear, rulers collapse, powers fall, may the Places on the right stand still, those on the left not stay, may the devil be muzzled, Satan laughed to scorn . . . grant that I may finish a Way to Thee free of violence and despite" (*ἀνύβριστον καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον*).

[46b] *I.e.* the Cross, (*ξύλον*). Compare Ode XLII, 3, where the Wood is the finger post pointing up to the heavenly Way. Here the Way is as steadfast as the Cross and all it symbolizes.

[47] Read 3 pl. fem.

[48] All but a quotation from Rom. 4 12, as rendered by the Peshitta.

(1) I ascended into the Light of Truth as though into a vehicle,
(2) and the Truth took me and brought me
and carried me over gulfs and chasms,[49]
and from the rocks and waves it preserved me,
(3) and was to me a vessel[50] of salvation
and set me on the steps[51] of immortal life.

The new MS has preserved the true reading of the last verse. After bringing the Christian safely through the spiritual dangers which threaten him on earth, the Truth places his feet at death upon the steps of the heavenly ladder.

Verses 14–16 describe the appearance of the Star of Bethlehem. "The Head came down to the Feet"—the Head is Christ, the Feet the souls in the lowest regions. The conception of Christians as the spiritual body of Christ is of course very common without as well as within Gnostic circles, but the designation of any special class of souls as his "Feet" occurs, so far as I know, only in this Ode and in Ode XLII, where, speaking of his descent into hell, Christ says:

(18) The Feet and Head he (death) let go,
for they were not able to endure my face.

But in 14[b] "because to the feet the wheel had run," the "feet" are the "feet" of the zodiac, the sign of the Fishes, and in 16[a] "and there was seen at its head," the "head" is that of the zodiac, the sign of the Ram.—The notion that the Ram is the first of the signs, their leader, and the "head of the universe," seems to have been first given currency by that Bible of the astrologers, the books ascribed to Petosiris and Nechepso, in which it was taught that at the creation of the universe Cancer, the Crab, was in the horoscope (the rising sign), and that the Ram, therefore, was at that time in the midheaven or superior culmination.

[49] N., "hollow chasms"; probably a combination of two variant readings.
[50] The context forbids "harbor."
[51] N., or "ladder," Burkitt; H., "arms."

"Why they decided that the twelve signs begin with the Ram is now to be explained. . . . Upon reviewing the Nativity of the universe, which, as we have said, was constructed very carefully by the wisest of men [*i.e.* Petosiris and Nechepso], I have found that the superior culmination of the Nativity lay in the Ram. And so for this reason, because often, in fact always, the superior culmination takes in all nativities the controlling position, and because this place is first overhead and because we infer from this place the principles of the whole Nativity, all the signs appropriately take their rise from this sign, especially because most of the stars and in particular the two luminaries, *i.e.* sun and moon, dispatch their rays towards this sign. All nations then are agreed that the constellations begin with this sign."[52]

The extension of the metaphor to the other signs of the zodiac was no doubt favored by the current association between the signs and the several parts of the human body. The head was supposed to be under the influence of the Ram, the neck under that of the Bull, and so on, the feet being under that of the Fishes.[53] The direct application of the names of the parts to the signs themselves is not so common, but is implied by Sextus Empiricus' language and is stated directly by Hephaestion of Thebes.[54]

[52] J. Firmicus Maternus, *Astr.*, iii, 2 (Pruckner, p. 48). Cur autem initium signorum duodecim ab Ariete esse uoluerunt, etiam nunc explicandum est . . . Retractans itaque genituram mundi, quam diximus a sapientissimis uiris prudentissime esse compositam, inueni MC geniturae in Ariete esse positum. Ob hoc itaque, quia frequenter, immo semper MC in omnibus genituris possidet principatum, et quia hic locus supra verticem primum [primus? Kroll's text is not accessible to me] est, et quia ex hoc loco totius geniturae fundamenta colligimus, opportune ex hoc signo initium signis omnibus datum est, praesertim cum maxima pars stellarum, sed et ambo lumina scilicet sol et luna radios suos in hoc signum miserint. Inde omnibus gentibus, siderum initium ex hoc signo inchoari conuenit. See Bouche-Leclercq, *L'Astr. Gr.*, pp. 185 sqq.; 129, n. 1.

[53] So from Manilius onward. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 319, 320.

[54] Sext. Emp. Adv. Astr. (V), 21, *κριὸν μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν ὀνομάζουσι . . . ἰχθύας δὲ πόδας.* Fabricius not. ad. loc. Hephaestio Thebanus: *τὸ κατὰ τὸν κριὸν δωδεκατημόριον κεφαλὴν τοῦ κόσμου προσαγορεύουσιν — ταῦρον τράχηλον τοῦ κόσμου προσηγόρευσαν . . .* atque ita de caeteris.

Pisces then, the Fishes, are the feet of the zodiac, and Aries, the Ram, is its head. By the revolution of the Wheel the poet must intend to signify the apparent westward movement of the zodiac with reference to the sun (more commonly described as the sun's movement eastward through the zodiac).

The sun then, at the time of Christ's descent, has at least reached the Fishes. But that which had alighted upon the Wheel "was a letter of command that all the Places should assemble." In astrology, "place" (*τόπος*) signifies any region or point recognized as possessing special properties; it has also a special sense which is not here relevant (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, ch. 9). But in the pure idealism of the Valentinian Gnostics, which recognized no existent save the conscious existent, "place" and the spirit or mind of that "place" or region are one and the same (see p. 172).

So Irenæus[55] says of the Valentinians:

"They say that the seven heavens are intelligent and assume them to be angels, and that the Demiurge is himself an angel resembling God; as also they say that Paradise, which is above the third heaven, is virtually a fourth angel, and that Adam received something from it when tarrying in it." In the Valentinian system described by Hippolytus,[56] "place" was the technical term for that grade of conscious being which was termed "psychic." It was less bright than spirit, its luminosity being reduced to a dull glow; its consciousness is of the kind represented in ourselves by sensation and sense perception. It occupies the entire Hebdomad.

[55] Hær., i, 1, 9 (Harvey, i, p. 44). *Τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς εἶναι νοερούς φασιν· Ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται, καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἄγγελον Θεῷ ἐοικότα· ὡς καὶ τὸν Παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τρίτον οὐρανὸν ὄντα, τέταρτον Ἄγγελον λέγουσι δυνάμει ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τι εἰληφέναι τὸν Ἀδὰμ διατετριφότα ἐν αὐτῷ.*

[56] Ref., vi, 32 (p. 280, D. & S.): *Ἔστι δὲ πυρώδης, φησιν, ἡ ψυχικὴ οὐσία, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ τόπος [μεσότητος] ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἑβδομὰς καὶ παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν.* D. & S. are probably right in rejecting *μεσότητος*, but it is possibly genuine, or may represent *καὶ μεσότης*. Cf. sub. *κατὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ μέρος θνητή τις ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή, μεσότης τις οὖσα*, and Ptolemy to Flora (quoted note 8). The same terminology is used in the Excerpts, 2, 9, § 38, *καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τόπος πύρινός ἐστι.*

In Pistis-Sophia τόπος is one of the most common words, and is substantially equivalent to "spiritual being."

In the present passage of Ode XXIII the "places" are almost certainly the planets, together with the other spiritual beings of the planetary region, and the poet imagines them as summoned by the letter to greet and to yield themselves to Christ.

The earliest occurrence of this conception is in Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians (about A.D. 115).[57]

"And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord — three mysteries to be cried aloud — the which were wrought in the silence of God. How, then, were they made manifest to the æons? A star shone forth in the heavens above all the stars; and its light was unutterable, and its strangeness caused amazement; and all the rest of the constellations, with the sun and moon, formed themselves into a chorus about the star; but the star itself far outshone them all; and there was perplexity to know whence came this strange appearance which was so unlike them. From that time forward every sorcery and every spell was dissolved, the ignorance of wickedness vanished away, the ancient kingdom was pulled down, when God appeared in the likeness of man into newness of everlasting life; and that which had been perfected in the counsels of God began to take effect. Thence all things were perturbed, because the abolishing of death was taken in hand."

The same thought occurs in the hymn of praise which in the

[57] (Lightfoot's translation and text) ch. 19: Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν; ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν, καὶ ξενισμὸν παρεῖχεν ἡ καινότης αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα· ταραχὴ δὲ ἦν πόθεν ἡ καινότης ἡ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμός, ἠφανίζετο κακίας ἄγνοια, καθῃρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία [διεφθείρετο], Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς καινότητα ἀϊδίου ζωῆς· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.

Syriac text of the Acts of Judas Thomas immediately follows the Song of the Pearl :[58]

"To be glorified art thou, the Father, Lifegiver (or Saviour) of all, who didst (or, dost) assemble the worlds for thy glory through (or, by the hand of) thy Beloved, that they might make praise to ascend to thee."

In Ode XXII, which deals with the same theme, — the descent of Christ in order to prepare a Way from earth to heaven, — this "assembling" of the planets again figures :

(1) Thou that didst bring me down from on high[59]
and take me up from the [regions] beneath, —[60]
(2) Thou that didst assemble the [regions] between
and send them to me,
(3) Thou that didst scatter my enemies and my adversaries,
(4) Thou that didst give me power over the prisoners
that I might release them,
(5) Thou that didst destroy by my hands the Serpent
with seven heads,
and hast set me over his roots[61]
that I might destroy his seed : —
(6) Thou wast with me[62] and didst help me,
and everywhere[63] thy Name surrounded me.[63a]

[58] Wright, vol. i, p. 281 (vol. ii, p. 247). This hymn is omitted in all Greek MSS; a German version will be found in Hennecke, *Handbuch*, pp. 592–593.

[59] pl. points, with Labourt.

[60] The Syriac words for "regions beneath" and "regions between" are adjectives in the f. pl. and have no such technical meaning as is suggested by "places." But the "regions between" are quite certainly the "Places of the Midst," the spiritual beings of the Hebdomad, which are "assembled" and "sent," more literally "impelled," to meet the descending Christ. The word properly means, "throw," but is used by the Peshitta, J. 20 25, to translate βάλλειν in its weaker sense of "put." The text "send them to me" is that of N. H. has "send me."

[61] "root," N.

[62] So Coptic ; H. and N., "there."

[63] *I.e.* in every Place.

[63a] So N. (translated by Burkitt "rampart" (?)) and Coptic. H. has "thy name was blessed by me." The "Name" here probably represents the mystery garment which bears the mystery-names. See p. 185 ; compare, also, the "seal" of Ode IV, 8, wherewith the elect archangels are clad; the

(7) Thy right [arm] destroyed his evil poison
and thy hand leveled the Way for these that believe in thee.
(8) And thou didst choose them from the graves,
and didst separate them from the dead;
(9) Thou didst take dead bones
and didst cover them with flesh;
(10) They were motionless,
and thou didst give them the activity of life.[64]
(11) Indestructible was thy Way,
and thy Face[65] thou hast brought to thy world for [its] destruction
that all things should be dissolved and renewed.
(12) Thy Rock shall be the foundation of all things,
and upon it thou hast built thy kingdom
and it has[66] become the dwelling-place of the saints,
Hallelujah.

Returning to the text of Ode XXIII: after the assembling of the Places, "there was seen at its [the Wheel's] head, the Head that was revealed, the Son of Truth from the Father Most High." When the great light which is Christ reaches the zodiac he is seen from earth as a new Star, and this Star, which is the Son of Truth, the Head of all spiritual beings, appears, as is appropriate, in the sign of the Ram, which is the head of the zodiac and of the world (see p. 191).

Verses 17 and 18 describe the establishment of Christ's Kingdom on earth. The "thought of the Many" is a con-

heavenly Robe of the Song of the Pearl; Acta Phil., *AAA*, I, 1, 86, 5; clothe me with thy glorious robe, thy luminous seal which always shines," and Ode XXXIX, 7.

[64] So N. and Coptic: H. "aids to life."

[65] The use of "face" in the Odes is perplexing. In XLII, 18, "they were not able to endure my face," it is used in the familiar semi-metaphorical sense; here one might, with slight change of meaning, substitute "presence." In XXV, 4, "because thy face was with me, which saved me by thy grace," it seems to mean, not literal, but virtual or spiritual presence. In XXXI, 5, "his (Christ's) face was justified," it can hardly be distinguished from the simple pronoun "he." In the present passage it is used apparently in the second of the above senses. Compare Clem. Alex. Exc. Theod, § 11 *πρόσωπον δὲ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, δι' οὗ γνωρίζεται ὁ πατήρ.*

[66] So Gunkel, and N.; H., "thou hast."

ception which belongs to the sphere of Gnostic Idealism, a theme which I hope to study, in its bearing upon the Odes, at some other time. "Apostates" also is a technical Gnostic term[67] for the lower spirits. It has its root in the theory that the fall of these spirits was due to their assertion of self-will, which constituted rebellion against the higher law and made them apostates.

Verses 19–20 form the epilogue and call for no especial comment.

If I am right in my interpretation of verses 14–16, certain interesting questions suggest themselves.

One may deduce from the Ode three indications of the time at which the author supposes the Star to have appeared:

1. Before its appearance the sun is in the Fishes.
2. The planets are assembled.
3. The Star appears in the Ram.

From the third a fourth may be inferred. Since the sign of the Fishes lies to the west of the Ram, if the sun was still in the Fishes when the Star appeared in the Ram, the sun would rise before the Star, in which case the Star would be invisible by night, save for a short time after sunset as an evening star in the western sky. But a star when setting was regarded by astrologers as in an inferior and weakened state, and no astrologer would have represented the Star of Bethlehem as appearing in such a humiliating position. He would more probably have conceived it as a morning star, especially in view of the fact that the words of the Magi, "We have seen his star in the east," might be interpreted as meaning that they had seen it in the eastern sky. It is then probable that when the Star appears in the Ram the sun has passed out of the Fishes and at least some distance into the Ram. But if the Star is to be visible as a

[67] *E.g.* Hipp. *Ref.*, vi, 38, p. 292, Secundus . . . *τὴν ἀποστᾶσαν καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα αἰώνων λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν.* Exc. Theod., § 8, "*καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν,*" *οἱ ἀποστατήσαντες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔγνωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐ κατέσχεν αὐτόν.*

morning star, it cannot be too near the sun, for then it would be lost in his light. From a very early period astronomers had decided that a morning or evening star must be at least half a sign or 15° distant from the sun, but at a later period more exact calculations led to the conclusion that the interval might be as small as 8° for the brightest planets and would have to be as great as 18° for the most dim.[68] Of the two methods of estimation the first is the more common and the more likely to be used by any one not a trained astronomer.

In order to translate these astronomical indications into a date of the Julian calendar, it is necessary to know what relation the author assumed between the equinoxes, the signs of the zodiac and the calendar. Upon this question the Odes throw no light, and one is forced to resort to conjecture.

The zodiac originated in Babylon prior to 2000 B.C. (Kugler, *Sternkunde*, i, p. 33), and its signs were originally determined by reference to certain constellations. Its position therefore among the stars was fixed. The equinoctial and solstitial points were also believed to occupy fixed positions on the ecliptic, although it is not certain what those positions were. Kugler has discovered in Babylonian tablets of the later age two different positions assigned to the spring equinox, one, between 174 and 151 B.C., at 10° of the Ram, and another, between 103 and 100 B.C., at about 8°. The latter was, he has shown, the position recognized by the Babylonian astronomer Kidinnu, the Kidenas of Greek writers, who was one of the chief sources whence the Greco-Roman world drew its knowledge of Babylonian astronomy.[69]

The early Greek astronomers certainly learned the elements of their science from the Babylonians, but it is impossible to determine the extent of their indebtedness, nor do

[68] Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 111, n. 3.

[69] My information is drawn chiefly from Kugler, *D. babylonische Mondrechnung*, 1900, §§ 37, 60, 61; *Sternkunde u. Sterndienst in Babel*, vol. i, 1907, pp. 25, 28–31, 172–176; vol. ii, 1910–12; *Im Bannkreis Babels*, 1910, pp. 117–126; F. Cumont, *Babylon u. d. gr. Astronomie*, in *N. Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt.*, 1911; *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, 1912, pp. 58–72.

we know precisely at what point or points on the ecliptic they located the spring equinox. According to Hipparchus (*Comm. in Arat.*, p. 132, 6 Manitius) "all or nearly all the ancient mathematicians" placed it at the beginning of the Ram, yet Eudoxus, he says (*op. cit.*, p. 132, 10), places it in the middle. On the other hand, Columella alleges (*De re rustica*, ix, 14, *ap.* Kugler, *Mondr.*, p. 105) that Meton and Eudoxus placed it in the eighth degree. At all events, Hipparchus was the first to discover, about 130 B.C., the precession of the equinoxes, and was the first to propose that the position of the zodiac should be determined, not by reference to the fixed stars, but by the spring equinox, that the equinox should always be regarded as the first point of the Ram, and that the zodiac therefore should revolve with the equinox westward among the stars.

Cæsar's reform of the calendar in 45 B.C. seems to have been in more ways than one a compromise measure (Ginzel, *Handb. d. math. u. tech. Chronologie*, ii, pp. 284–5). Acting probably upon the advice of the astronomer Sosigenes, who in turn followed Kidinnu (cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, ii, sq., *ap.* Cumont, *Bab. u. d. gr. A.*), he decreed that the spring equinox should be fixed in the eighth degree of the Ram, but, in order to bring the position thus assigned into accord with the observed phenomena, he caused the zodiac to be shifted westward far enough to make the eighth degree coincide with the supposed equinoctial point of his own time (so Kugler, *Mondr.*, p. 106). He also decreed that the equinox should fall upon March 25th of the Roman calendar. Cæsar's location of the equinox seems to have been generally accepted by Roman writers for at least 200 years. The eighth degree is recognized by Manilius (iii, 257) and Vitruvius (ix, 3, 3) in the age of Augustus; by Thrasyllus, astronomer to Tiberius (*Cat. Codd. Astr. Graec.*, viii, pt. 3, p. 99) ; by Columella (xi, 2 and 14) and Pliny (*H.N.*, xviii, 59), in the last half of the first century, and by Vettius Valens in the last half of the second (ix, 11, *ap.* Cumont, *Bab. u. d. gr. A.*). But about the middle of that century Ptolemy decided in favor of Hipparchus's method, and his

ever growing influence ultimately resulted in the disappearance of that of Sosigenes. In the second century of our era, therefore, both locations of the spring equinox, in the eighth and in the first degree of the Ram, were recognized and may be assumed to have been known to any one even slightly acquainted with astronomy.

As regards the relation of the equinox to the calendar, similar uncertainty prevails. Cæsar had placed it on March 25th. Ptolemy calculated that it fell in 137 A.D. on March 22d (Boeckh, *D. vierjähr. Sonnenkreise d. Alten*, p. 237). It is quite possible that other equivalents were recognized in the numerous local calendars which still survived in the Roman Empire.

The requirement that the morning star must be not less than 15° distant from the sun also admits of a double interpretation. To make sure of a 15° interval between the sun and a star in the first degree, the sun must be in the 17th. But as the 15° requirement is itself arbitrary, it is probable that most persons would have regarded it as satisfied when the sun was in the 16th.

Applying these principles in the data afforded by the Ode:

(1) If the equinox occurs on March 25th in the eighth degree of the Ram, the sun will be in the 16th degree on April 2d.

(2) If it occurs on March 25th in the first degree, the sun will be in the 17th degree on April 10th.

(3) If it occurs on March 22d in the first degree, the sun will be in the 16th degree on April 6th.

The first determination uses the data of the Roman calendar; the second uses the Hipparchus-Ptolemy zodiac, but accepts the calendar date for the equinox; the third differs from the second only in substituting Ptolemy's corrected date for the equinox, and in reckoning the interval[70] as 16 instead of 17 degrees.

[70] I have assumed, in assigning the above values, that they do not take the precession of the equinoxes into consideration, but assume for the beginning of the Christian era the values recognized at the time the computations were made. The third is in fact by far the most accurate, for March 22d, the

The first is the date calculated by the Roman Hippolytus early in the third century, and is inscribed upon the base of his statue, now in the Lateran Museum.[71] The second precedes by nine months the date assigned the Baptism by the majority of the Basilidean Gnostics in Alexandria about 200 A.D. The third precedes in like manner the date for the Baptism recognized by the minority of the same sect at the same time.[72]

At a somewhat later period it was assumed by nearly all Christians except the Valentinian and some other Gnostics (Iren. Adv. Haer., I, i, 1; vol. i, p. 12, Harvey; Epiph. Haer. 51, §§ 23, 28) that Christ was baptized on his thirtieth birthday. Valentinus and his school denied it because they wished to represent Christ's entire life on earth as comprising exactly 30 years, to correspond to the 30 æons. Of Basilides' views we know nothing, but, as he did not hold that the æons are exactly 30 in number, he had not that motive for dissenting with Valentinus from the current view. It is therefore probable that Jan. 6th and Jan. 10th are the dates of the Birth as well as of the Baptism, and correspond to April 6th and April 10th as dates for the Annunciation. It is probable that some, at least, of the other dates proposed in the early ages for the leading events in Christ's life were reached by astronomical and astrological calculations. Clement of Alexandria reports (Strom., i, 21;

date assigned by Ptolemy, is nearer the true time of the spring equinox for the first year of our era than for the year 137. The date of the equinox in Babylon for the year 0 may be calculated from Ginzel's table (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 101) at 3 h. 43 m. A.M. on March 22d; in 137 A.D. it fell on March 21st. But we cannot credit unknown Gnostics with better astronomical knowledge than the greatest astronomer of his age possessed.

[71] Voigt, *Gesch. Jesu u. d. Astronomie*, p. 89; Hipp., *Opera*, ed. Fabricius, p. 38: Προ δ Νω Απρει γένεσις Χς. Voigt interprets γένεσις as "conception." If it means "birth," which seems to me more probable, the above explanation would still hold, but it would be necessary to assume that Hippolytus supposed the appearance of the star to the Magi to be contemporaneous, not with the Annunciation, but with the Nativity.

[72] Strom., i, 21, 146 (Stählin, ii, p. 90). Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι προδιανυκτερεύοντες (ἐν) ἀναγνώσεσι. φασὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός, τινὲς δὲ αὖ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός.

vol. i, pp. 407, 16–408, 10, Potter) as proposed dates for the Nativity, besides Nov. 18th, which he himself accepts, May 20th (γένεσις cannot here mean "conception" I think, but cf. Voigt, p. 86) and April 19th and 20th. The treatise *de Pascha Computus*, ch. 19 (written 243 A.D., see Voigt, n. 300) gives March 28th. Epiphanius speaks of June 20th or May 21st, he seems uncertain which (Haer. 51, 29; ii, 494, 26 Dind.), as proposed in some book he has read. The fact that such computations were employed has long been known and many scholars have endeavored to reconstruct them; but, save in the case of those dates which were coincident with or obviously dependent upon the equinoxes, solstices, and Paschal moon, their efforts have met with little success. It was easy to supply data that would lead to the date given, but not so easy to prove that these were the data used. The 23d Ode gives us for the first time, so far as I have been able to learn, a datum which certainly would have been used — the supposed fact that the Star appeared in the "head of the Wheel." The remaining data necessary to the solution of the problem are supplied from contemporary practice.

It is well known that Jan. 6th was long celebrated as the anniversary of both the Birth and the Baptism. It was not until the 4th and 5th centuries that a special day, Dec. 25th, was set aside as the festival of the Birth. But it is not definitely known for which of the two events Jan. 6th was originally selected. Conybeare (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., *s.v. Epiphany*) has adduced much evidence in favor of the view that it was selected for the commemoration of the Baptism solely because a great Egyptian Nile festival was celebrated on that day. But this fails to account for the division of opinion among the Gnostics as between Jan. 6th and Jan. 10th. It is more probable that the dates were originally calculated for the Birth by the methods above suggested, Jan. 10th, to which the majority adhered, being the original determination, Jan. 6th representing a correction based upon Ptolemy's more accurate computation of the current date of the equinox. The interest of the Basilidean and other Gnostics in astrology and astronomy is well known,

and it is not improbable that they were among the first Christians to base such calculations upon the data afforded by the Gospels. Moreover, although the date had been calculated for that of the Birth, they would use it to fix that of the Baptism, and celebrate the latter only, inasmuch as they held that the divine Christ descended upon the man Jesus for the first time at his baptism. Their reasoning, if Hippolytus' account is to be trusted, must have run somewhat as follows: Jesus, no less than common men, was subject to the control of the stars,[73] and this was the reason why his conception was attended by such extraordinary phenomena. The Star signified that the great light had descended from the Ogdoad to the Hebdomad (cf. p. 185) and was engaged in the redemption of its inhabitants. From the Ogdoad and the Hebdomad a pneumatic and a "psychic" element descended upon Mary, and Jesus was conceived.[74] Thereafter everything occurred as narrated in the Gospels. So he was born at the expiration of nine months, on Jan. 10th. On the anniversary of that day he was baptized by John, "and the light which had descended from the Ogdoad above to the Son of the Hebdomad, descended from the Hebdomad upon Jesus, son of Mary, and he was illuminated, being simultaneously enkindled by the light that shone into him."[75]

But the coincidence of the Nile festival with Jan. 6th was no doubt the reason why that date alone, among all its com-

[73] Hipp. Ref., vii, 27, p. 376, D. & S.: *ὅτι δὲ, φησίν, ἕκαστον ἰδίους ἔχει καιρούς, ἱκανὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγων.* "*Οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου,*" *καὶ οἱ μάγοι τὸν ἀστέρα τεθεαμένοι· ἦν γὰρ, φησί, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ γένεσιν ἀστέρων καὶ ὡρῶν ἀποκαταστάσεως ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ προλελογισμένος σωρῷ.*

[74] *Op. cit.*, 27, p. 374: *ib.* p. 378: *Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς γεγένηται κατ' αὐτοὺς ὡς προειρήκαμεν. Γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς γενέσεως τῆς προδεδηλωμένης, γέγονε πάντα ὁμοίως κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται.*

[75] *Op. cit.*, p. 374: *Κατῆλθεν [οὖν] ἀπὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος τὸ φῶς, τὸ κατελθὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδοάδος ἄνωθεν τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς Μαρίας, καὶ ἐφωτίσθη συνεξαφθεὶς τῷ φωτὶ τῷ λάμψαντι εἰς αὐτόν.* Hippolytus' account is obscure, for he proceeds to identify this event with the Annunciation—*τοῦτο ἐστι, φησί, τὸ εἰρημένον·* "*Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ,*" *τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς υἱότητος διὰ τοῦ μεθορίου πνεύματος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα διελθὸν μέχρι τῆς Μαρίας, κτλ.* I have above assumed that both the spiritual and psychic elements, *i.e.* those from the Ogdoad and the Hebdomad, descended upon Mary, and that at the baptism that which descended was the "Sonship" from the highest realms of light.

petitors, survived as a feast of the church. Although first suggested by the Gnostics, it would readily win the favor of Egyptian Christians generally, and the ritual associations of the water festival would aid in keeping it for all what it had been from the beginning for the Gnostics — a commemoration primarily of Jesus' second birth in the water of baptism of the Spirit, and only secondarily of his physical birth of Mary. From Egypt it must have spread rapidly over the Christian world during the third century.

But it must have been in the second century that some speculator, who knew nothing of the Star's alleged appearance in the head of the zodiac, and was not aware that the Roman calendar date for the spring equinox was incorrect even for the first century, concluded that the Annunciation occurred on March 25th and the Nativity on Dec. 25th. The latter date is first suggested in Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel, about the year 202. If not an interpolation this would indicate that in his earlier years he had held a view which his study of chronology — perhaps of Gnosticism — afterwards led him to change. However that may be, Dec. 25th coincided in Rome with the festival of the winter solstice, the Saturnalia, as Jan. 6th had coincided in Alexandria with the Nile festival. For similar reasons it found favor with the people, and finally, as Rome's ecclesiastical influence spread, came to be generally recognized as the anniversary of the Nativity. But the Annunciation date never attained equal importance. The associations of the festival of the spring equinox had long since been attached to Easter, and although March 25th was and still is recognized by the church calendar as "Lady Day," it has never become as popular a festival as Easter.

Upon similar principles one can explain the curious practice of the church of Edessa in the fourth century. Ephraem celebrated the Annunciation on April 10th, the Nativity on Jan. 6th, two dates not related by the nine months' interval uniformly recognized elsewhere. It is probable[76] that the

[76] In Exod. 12 s (Vat. Ed., vol. i, pp. 212–213):

"The lamb is a type (mystery) of our Lord, who on the 10th of Nisan entered into the womb. For from the 10th of the seventh month, when Zacharias

church of Edessa before Ephraem's day had celebrated Jan. 10th and April 10th, and that the first date had been displaced by the more generally recognized festival of Jan. 6th. But April 6th never had been much more than the conjecture of a school, it had never been accepted as a feast day by any large number of Christians, and so had not the power to displace the date already accepted at Edessa.

Of the three indications which the author of Ode XXIII gives of the date for the Annunciation which he has in mind, two, the first and third, connected with the assumption that the morning star must be at least 15° from the sun, enable us to infer with confidence that April 6th, April 10th, and April 2d are among the dates which would satisfy the

was told of the birth of John, to the 10th of the first month, when Mary was told by the angel, is six months. This is the reason why the angel said to her, 'This is the sixth month for her that was called barren.' On the 10th, then, when the lamb was shut up, our Lord was conceived, and on the 14th, when his type was slain, he was crucified." The same idea occurs, although more briefly stated, Hom. in Nat. Dom., iv (vol. ii, p. 415, A–B).

It will be observed that Ephraem ostensibly calculates the date of the Annunciation from that of Zacharias' vision. But Luke does not in any way indicate the day of the latter, and it is much more probable that the inference ran in the other direction. Ephraem, nevertheless, celebrated the Nativity on Jan. 6th. This is made quite certain by a passage in Hom., iv, in Nat. Dom. (Vat. Ed., vol. ii, p. 415 A):

"The Luminary has conquered and has expressed the type by the degrees he has ascended. It is twelve days since he ascended, and to-day is the thirteenth — a perfect type of the birth of the Son and his Twelve."

The "ascension" of the sun can be nothing but the winter solstice, when he begins to climb from his southernmost point northwards, and Jan. 6th is the thirteenth day from Dec. 25th, the calendar date for the solstice. Epiphanius quotes Ephraem to the same effect, although not in quite the same words, Haer. 51 (ii, 482, 27, Dind.). But in Hom. in Nat. iii. (vol. ii, p. 407 A) he says:

"In December (?) when the seed is hidden in the earth, there sprouted from the womb an ear of life; in April, when the seed is sprouting in the air, a sheaf sowed itself in the earth." The word here used for December, is also used, with the qualification "second," as the name of January. In view of the preceding passage, we must suppose that Ephraem feels at liberty to use it in the less common sense when speaking of a topic with regard to which his hearers could not misunderstand him. Both Morris and Benedictus translate it "December"; Morris renders "Nisan" "March"; Benedictus, "vere novo."

conditions. The second indication, the assembling of the planets, affords some ground, although not a conclusive one, for supposing that April 10th is the date contemplated in the Ode.

Ignatius describes the sun, moon, and constellations as forming a "chorus" about the Star; Ode XXII refers to the assembling of the "regions of the midst"; the Acts of Judas Thomas to the assembling of the "worlds." What is the origin and significance of this conception? The passage in the Acts might, perhaps, be explained as an allusion to the appearance of the angels to the shepherds, but the other three cannot. Ignatius speaks, not of angels but of stars; the "Places," the "regions of the midst" are quite certainly, and the "worlds" are probably, the Gnostic equivalents of the stars — the spirits of the stellar regions. Again, did Ignatius really believe that the stars of heaven left their places and gathered about the Star of Bethlehem? If so, how did he explain the silence of history?

There is one simple and natural explanation, which has already been suggested by Professor Voigt[77] as the source of Ignatius' conception.

In April of 6 B.C. the seven planets were in fact assembled within 50° of one another in the zodiac. Such a phenomenon might have escaped mention in history, but it could not have escaped the attention of astronomers and must have been known to those of more than one succeeding century. It is also quite certain that Christian astronomers would have tried to connect so astonishing a phenomenon, occurring not long before Christ's birth, with the Gospel story of the Star. In the passages quoted we have, I think, the vestiges of such speculations.

Similar speculations were advanced in the seventeenth century by Kepler. On Sept. 26, 1604, Mars and Saturn were in conjunction in Sagittarius; on Oct. 9, Mars and Jupiter were in conjunction; on Oct. 10, a new and brilliant star appeared close to the two planets. This phenomenon, which excited the liveliest interest among the astronomers and as-

[77] *Gesch. Jesu u. d. Astr.*, p. 125.

trologers of the time, suggested to Kepler a new explanation of the Gospel story of the Star of Bethlehem and the visit of the Magi. His calculations led him to believe that in June, August, and December of the year 7 B.C., Saturn and Jupiter were in conjunction in the Fishes; that in February of 6 B.C. Saturn and Mars were in conjunction in the Fishes; and in March, Jupiter and Mars in the Ram. He proposed the theory that a new star had appeared then, as in 1604, and that the Magi, interpreting the extraordinary conjunctions and the appearance of the new star in accordance with the usual rules of astrology, were able to infer the birth of the King of the Jews.

The downfall of astrology threw Kepler's theory into oblivion, but its leading feature has since awakened renewed interest. Many writers have maintained that, although no new star appeared, the conjunctions of 7 B.C. or of 6 B.C. were themselves the occasion of the story of the coming of the Magi. Some hold that the story is true, although the author of the Gospel has misunderstood the occasion of their journey; others that the whole tale is a legend suggested by the fact, then of course well known, that such conjunctions had taken place about the time of the birth of Christ.

In recent years discussion of the subject has been revived, especially in Germany, where several books and articles have appeared in which the available evidence is adduced and sifted. The latest of these, from which my own knowledge of the subject is chiefly derived, is Prof. H. G. Voigt's *Die Geschichte Jesu und die Astrologie* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1911). He gives a full and valuable review of the literature and endeavors to prove that the grouping of the planets, about April 14, 6 B.C., would, if interpreted by the ordinary rules of astrology, have led the Magi to infer the birth of a personage of importance who might fairly be described as King of the Jews.[78]

[78] In some reviews of Professor Voigt's book, the fact that he believes the visit of the Magi really took place, seems to be regarded as a sufficient reason for discrediting his argument, a method of criticism which quite mistakes the point at issue. If he is right in his contention, a serious objection to the

The conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in 7 B.C. took place, according to Ideler, in May, October, and December, and are therefore excluded by the dates implied in the Ode. Kritzinger has recently calculated that on March 21, 7 B.C., Jupiter rose before sunrise, and on March 31, Saturn in conjunction with Mercury rose in like manner.[79] This again does not correspond with the date indicated by the Ode. But the situation of the planets in April, 6 B.C., described by Voigt (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 177, and chart at end) and based upon Neubauer's calculations, constituted a veritable "assembling." On the morning of April 14, about 45 minutes before sunrise, Mars was below the horizon in the thirtieth degree of the Ram, the sun, probably with Mercury, about the twenty-second degree, Jupiter just on the horizon in the tenth degree, Saturn in the first degree, at the equinoctial point, Venus at about the nineteenth, and the moon at about the twelfth degree of the Fishes. Thus all seven planets were grouped around the equinoctial point within a space of only 50°, and four of them were visible above the horizon in the eastern sky within the first third of the distance from the horizon to the zenith.

The four days' discrepancy between the date calculated by Neubauer, April 14th, and the date which I have inferred from the indications afforded by the Ode, April 10th, is not of material importance. Granting that Neubauer's calculations are correct, — a matter upon which I can form no

historical character of the account in Matthew is removed; but the event itself remains unsupported by other evidence than that of the Gospel. Professor Voigt is undoubtedly right in maintaining that the conjunctions of 7 B.C. and 6 B.C. must have awakened intense interest among the astrologers of that age, precisely as those of 1603 and 1604 did among their successors, and there can be no theoretical objection to the effort to determine what interpretation they might have put upon it. But it is not probable that the results attained by any one investigator will command the assent of many others. We know practically nothing of the methods used in practice by astrologers of Persia and Babylonia in the first century B.C., and such evidence as we do possess shows that even at a much later period independent and conflicting systems were in simultaneous use. There is certainly little hope of ascertaining what construction the Magi would have placed upon the phenomena in question.

[79] Voigt, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

opinion, — an astrologer of the second century who knew that this remarkable assembling of the stars took place about the time of the spring equinox, shortly before Christ's birth, and who accepted the story of the appearance of the Star, would almost certainly have inferred that the Star must have appeared in the first degree of the Ram, and would probably have inferred that the sun was 15° distant, whether the data before him did or did not warrant the assumption. Ample proof of this assertion may be found in Bouché-Leclercq's illustrations of the astrologer's habitual disregard of even the most evident astronomical facts when they came in conflict with the principles of astrology. But it is also possible that the evidence before the writer indicated April 10th as the day in question ; or failed to indicate the date with precision.

The conclusions I have reached may be resumed as follows: Odes XXIII, XXII, VII, and XXXIX involve conceptions closely akin to those the existence of which, in Odes XIX, XXIV, and XIII, I endeavored in my former paper to prove and in substance identical with those of many Gnostic schools. Christ descends from heaven to earth; passes through intermediate regions of the spiritual world; encounters their inhabitants, who desire but are not permitted to know his nature and his mission; assumes dominion, upon reaching the region of the planets, over the spirits that have hitherto through the planets ruled our world, and receives their homage. He is conceived in Ode VII as a being of brilliant light and his path is described as marked by a trail of light leading from the highest heaven to earth, whereby we also are enabled to find our way from earth to heaven. In Ode XXXIX the dangers of the intermediate regions are described as "rivers" and Christ's path as a "bridge" that enables us to cross over them. The homage of the star-spirits is described in Ode XXIII as an "assembling of the Places," in Ode XXII as an "assembling of the regions between" or "of the Midst"; it is to be identified with the "assembling of the worlds" mentioned in the Acts of Judas Thomas, with the "chorus of the stars"

of Ignatius and, in all probability, with the assemblage of all seven planets within 50° around the equinoctial point which actually took place in the second week of April of 6 B.C. The "Star in the east" is supposed to appear in the "head" of the "wheel" of the zodiac, the sign of the Ram, soon after the sun has passed through the Fishes, and it is probably supposed to be visible as a morning star. Supplying from computations known to have found acceptance in the second century the data necessary to the determination of a date, three dates are reached which satisfy the conditions, April 2, 6, and 10. All, or their correlative dates for the Birth and Baptism, are known to have been proposed before 200 A.D. April 10 is approximately consistent with the assembling of the planets, and is probably the date contemplated by the Ode. It is also the date accepted for the Annunciation in Ephraem's day by the church of Edessa, although it was inconsistent with the date of the Nativity then accepted by the same church — Jan. 6th. This suggests that it is a survival of an earlier local usage. It is probable that these astronomical and astrological speculations originated among the Syrian Gnostics, about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, possibly in the school of Satornilus, the first distinctively Christian Gnostic, who flourished at Antioch and was probably contemporary with Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch, and with Basilides, who is said to have taught in Alexandria.

Nov. 11, 1912.

Brief Communications

HEB. מֹכָר, ABUNDANCE

ON page 116 I have stated that we ought to read in Psalm 90 14 שבענו במכר חסדך instead of שבענו בבקר חסדך. It might be well to add that we find the same corruption in Psalm 143 8, where we ought to read השביעני במכר חסדך instead of השמיעני בבקר חסדך. Also in Psalm 59 17 we may substitute ורנן למכר חסדך for וארנן לבקר חסדך (for ל cf. Psalm 95 1). The reading בבקר חסדך may be influenced by Psalm 92 3 where בבקר חסדך is, of course, correct.

PAUL HAUPT.

REPORT

OF

FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

	Balance, Dec. 29, 1910	$87 70
1911	Sales of Journal for the year	189 00
Jan. 6,	Sale of offprints (Barry)	8 10
Mar. 16,	Sale of offprints (Schmidt)	32 50
		$317 30

Disbursements

1911		
Jan. 2,	Thomas Todd, printing postals and programmes	19 75
	Bank exchange	.40
Feb. 3,	Berwick & Smith, binding	1 10
June 13,	Berwick & Smith, presswork on vol. 30, part 1	66 74
June 14,	Cash to J. D. Prince, Treasurer	50 00
July 3,	Thomas Todd, printing wrappers	6 10
July 12,	Insurance on volumes in Boston	10 20
Dec. 21,	Berwick & Smith, presswork on vol. 30, part 2	59 38
Dec. 26,	Postage and expressage for the year	6 45
June 1,	Distributing Journal, vol. 30, part 1	15 00
Dec. 8,	Distributing Journal, vol. 30, part 2	19 00
Dec. 27,	Balance, in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston	63 18
		$317 30

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 28, 1911.

J. E. FRAME,
WALTER R. BETTERIDGE, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

December, 1910, to December, 1911

Receipts

1911		
Jan. 1,	Carried forward	$ 115 10
	Dues	550 20
	Dr. Cobb	50 00
	Initiations	120 00
	Total	$835 30

Disbursements

1911	
Columbia Lantern	8 00
Dr. Cobb	16 00
Dutton & Co., Stationery	15 00
J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxx, pt. 1	315 55
Dr. Montgomery	18 97
J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxx, pt. 2	409 05
Cash in hand	52 73
Total	$835 30

Respectfully submitted Dec. 28, 1911.

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Israel's Conquest of Canaan

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NO problem of Old Testament history is more fundamental than that of the manner in which the conquest of Canaan was effected by the Hebrew tribes. If they came unitedly, there is a possibility that they were united in the desert and in Egypt. If their invasions were separated by wide intervals of time, there is no probability that they were united in their earlier history. Our estimate of the Patriarchal and the Mosaic traditions is thus conditioned upon the answer that we give to this question. The purpose of this paper is not to solve this problem, but only to exhibit its elements in their logical relation, in the hope that thus the direction may be shown in which a solution is to be sought.

I. The Biblical Sources for the History of the Conquest.

a. *The Book of Joshua.*—It is now generally recognized that the Book of Joshua is composed out of the same four elements that we find in the Pentateuch, namely, J, E, D and P. These four documents agree that the twelve tribes entered Canaan together from the east, under the command of Joshua, and that he defeated the coalitions of Canaanite kings both in the south and in the north.

D and P add that he captured all the cities of the land (Jos. 10 28-43; 11 10-12. 23), and gave these cities to the tribes of

Israel (Jos. 13—22). J and E record no such extensive conquests, and in a number of passages J asserts that cities were not conquered which D and P claim were taken by Joshua; e. g. Jerusalem (Jos. 12 1. 10; 15 63), Gezer (10 33 D; 12 12 D; 21 21 P; 16 10 J), Taanach and Megiddo (12 21 D; 21 25 P; 17 11-18 J). J also says that several cities were taken by other persons than Joshua; e. g. Hebron by Caleb (15 13f. J; 10 36f.; 11 21a D), Debir by Othniel (15 15-17 J; 10 38f.; 11 21b; 12 13a D), the Highland of Israel by the tribe of Joseph (17 14-18 J; cf. 11 16-20 D; 12 18-24 D; 15 4-8 P).

J and E also agree that the Canaanites were not annihilated, as represented by D and P (10 40; 11 19f.). In 13 1b. 13; 15 63; 16 10; 17 12f.; Jud. 2 23; 3 5, J tells us that the Canaanites "dwell in the midst of Israel unto this day," and in the legislation of J (Ex. 34 11-13) it is assumed that they are still a menace. E also says of the Canaanites, "I will not drive them out before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee; by little and little I will drive them out from before thee" (Ex. 23 29f.; cf. Jud. 3 4 E).

b. *The first chapter of Judges.*—The first chapter of the Book of Judges gives another account of the conquest. This does not mention Joshua; it represents the tribes as conquering their territories separately, or at most in pairs, and it does not regard the Canaanites as exterminated, but as retaining all the important cities.

Various theories have been formed to harmonize this narrative with the Book of Joshua:

1. *The theory that Jud. 1 follows Jos.*—This is the view of Augustine, RaSHI, RaLBaG and most of the older commentators, and in modern times of Bachmann, Ewald, Bertheau, Cassel, Keil, König, Blaikie and McCurdy. According to it, Joshua conquered the land in the decisive battles of Gibeon and the Waters of Merom, then divided it by lot, and left it to the individual tribes to complete the conquest as narrated in Jud. 1.

This theory depends upon the introductory words in Jud. 1 1a, "and it came to pass after the death of Joshua," but this clause is certainly an editorial addition (cf. Ex. 1 1; Lev. 1 1; Num. 1 1;

I Sam. 1 1; I Ki. 1 1, all of which begin with an "and," designed to link the Law and the Former Prophets in a consecutive narrative). The death of Joshua is not narrated by Jud. until 2 8, and the events recorded in Jud. 1 do not follow the death of Joshua. When in vv. 1b-2 the children of Israel inquire, "Who shall go up first to fight against the Canaanites?" and Yahweh replies, "Judah shall go up first," this is evidently the beginning of the invasion of Canaan, not an expedition by Judah after the united tribes have conquered the land. If Jud. 1 follows Jos., we shall have to assume that the hosts of Canaanites annihilated by Joshua came to life again, like the dry bones in the vision of Ezekiel, so that the tribes of Israel had to destroy them and their towns all over again.

2. *The theory that Jud. 1 precedes Jos.*—Toffteen supposes that when Israel revolted against Moses at Kadesh (Nu. 14 39-43), the nation was divided into two hostile camps that remained separate for forty years. Parts of the tribes mentioned in Jud. 1 joined the revolt, and parts of these same tribes remained with Moses. The rebels then invaded Canaan as recorded in Jud. 1. Meanwhile the fragments of the tribes that were left with Moses wandered forty years in the desert, and subsequently invaded the land from the east under Joshua and completed the conquest.

The objections to this view are, that it makes Joshua conquer over again the cities that had already been taken by the individual tribes, and that it assumes a permanent division of the tribes at Kadesh. If only half-tribes remained with Moses, and if Joshua found the other half-tribes already settled in Canaan, we should expect some hint of these facts elsewhere. This splitting of the tribes is so contrary to Semitic conceptions of tribal unity and loyalty as to be most improbable.

Against both of the theories that have just been mentioned is the fact that Jud. 1 and Jos. are so similar in their main features that they must be regarded as parallel accounts of the conquest. Jud. 1 1 assumes that the Hebrews were together before the invasion, evidently in the east of Canaan, since the first attack is directed against the king of Jerusalem (vv. 4-7), and the subsequent campaigns proceed first southward and then

northward (vv. 1ff. 22ff.). With this corresponds Jos. 1—2. Jud. 1 16 makes Judah go up out of the City of Palms (Jericho; cf. 2 1a. 5b, where the angel of Yahweh goes up from Gilgal). With this corresponds the crossing of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho (Jos. 3—6).

Judah and Simeon then fight with Adoni-Bezeq (Jud. 1 5), who seems to be the king of Jerusalem, because after his defeat and mutilation he returns to Jerusalem to die (v. 7), and because he is powerful enough to have seventy kings gather their food under his table (v. 7; cf. the position of the king of Jerusalem in the Amarna Letters). With this corresponds Joshua's expedition against Adoni-Ṣedeq, king of Jerusalem (Jos. 10). The parallelism of the narratives in all other details compels us to identify these campaigns. Adoni-Ṣedeq and Adoni-Bezeq seem to be merely textual variants. The various recensions of the Greek read Adoni-Bezeq in Jos. Bezeq appears as a divine name in the place-name Qîr-Bezeq in a list of Ramses III (Müller, *Eg. Res.* p. 49) and Bezeq (I Sam. 11 8). In view of the rarity of Adoni-Bezeq and its attestation by the Greek in Jos., this seems to be the correct reading in both places. Adoni-Bezeq is defeated in Bezeq. The only Bezeq known to us is the modern Ibziq, 14 miles N.E. of Shechem (Nâblus). This is not a natural place for a battle with a king of Jerusalem. We must either assume that there was another Bezeq near Jerusalem or, more probably, that Bezeq is a textual error induced by the name of the king Adoni-Bezeq. It is a plausible conjecture that בזק (Bezeq) is a corruption of גבעון (Gibeon), the scene of the battle in Jos. 10 and in the ancient song Jos. 10 12.

The campaign against Adoni-Bezeq (Ṣedeq) is followed in Jud. 1 8-21 by a southward movement of Judah and Simeon through which they gained the Highland of Judah and the Negeb. With this corresponds Joshua's conquest of the same regions (Jos. 10 29-42). Jud. 1 22-36 then describes the conquests of the northern tribes, proceeding from south to north. With this corresponds Joshua's victory over the northern coalition of Canaanites (Jos. 11).

In the account of the distribution of the land (Jos. 13—18)

a number of verses of Jud. 1 are repeated verbatim. These parallel verses are as follows: Jud. 1 10. 20 = Jos. 15 13f.; Jud. 1 11-13 = Jos. 15 15-17; Jud. 1 14-15 = Jos. 15 18-19; Jud. 1 21 = Jos. 15 63; Jud. 1 27-28 = Jos. 17 11-13; Jud. 1 29 = Jos. 16 10. Those who hold that Jud. 1 follows Jos. are obliged to regard these parallel verses in Jos. as anticipations of the events recorded later in Jud. 1. This is an unnatural hypothesis. The real reason why they are inserted at this point is that the editor of Jos. regarded them as chronologically parallel to the material that he was using. A comparison of the two histories indicates, accordingly, that Jos. is only a variant and more elaborate version of the same conquest that is described in Jud. 1.

3. *The theory that Jud. 1 is a recapitulation of Jos.* — Recognizing that Jud. 1 is parallel to Jos., Hengstenberg, Ziegler, Bleek, Preiss and others have regarded it as a brief summary of Jos. This view derives some support from the fact just noted that a number of passages in Jos. are duplicated in Jud. 1, but it breaks down in view of the numerous differences between the two histories. It would be a strange recapitulation of the Book of Joshua that left Joshua himself out of account, and that summarized his annihilation of the Canaanites by reports of the failure of the tribes to capture the important cities. Jud. 1 is evidently written in complete ignorance of Jos.

4. *The theory that Jud. 1 is supplementary to Jos.*—Ottley thinks that the twelve tribes kept together under the leadership of Joshua until after the defeat of Adoni-Ṣedeq, king of Jerusalem (Jos. 10). Then Judah and Simeon seceded, and moved southward to fight Adoni-Bezeq, king of Jerusalem (Jud. 1 1-7). Afterwards Joshua with the rest of the tribes invaded the north country (Jos. 11—14; Jud. 1 22-36). The difficulty with this theory is that it distinguishes Adoni-Ṣedeq and Adoni-Bezeq, and thus makes it necessary for Judah and Simeon to fight a king of Jerusalem immediately after a king of Jerusalem has been routed by Joshua. It also makes Judah and Simeon conquer their own territories, whereas, according to Jos. 10, this was done by Joshua; and it makes these tribes gain their inheritances before these were assigned to them by lot according to Jos. 15.

Wade thinks that the twelve tribes held together until after the attack on Ai (Jos. 7), and that then Judah and Simeon seceded through dissatisfaction with the execution of Achan of the tribe of Judah (Jos. 7). Judah and Simeon then fought Adoni-Bezeq, king of Jerusalem; and subsequently Joshua and the rest of the tribes fought Adoni-Ṣedeq, king of Jerusalem. This view is open to all the objections that have been urged against the previous one, and has no additional argument in its favor.

Kittel holds that the tribes were united only until the conquest of Jericho (Jos. 6). Afterwards Judah went up to Gilgal to fight Adoni-Bezeq, king of Jerusalem, and Joshua went up later with the tribe of Joseph to fight Adoni-Ṣedeq, king of Jerusalem, whom Kittel regards as a successor of Adoni-Bezeq. The mention of Hebron and Debir as allies of Adoni-Ṣedeq (Jos. 10 3. 38) he regards as an erroneous interpolation in the tradition, since these cities had been previously taken by Judah (Jud. 1 10-18. 20). This is most unnatural. The parallelism in all details between Judah's conquest of the south in Jud. 1 and Joshua's conquest of the south in Jos. 10 shows that one narrative does not precede the other but is a substitute for it.

These theories that make the tribes act together up to a certain point, and then separate, are artificial. If the tribes had been united by Moses and Joshua, it is not likely that they would have separated after the conquest of Jericho, or of Ai, or after the battle of Gibeon, when the greatest perils still menaced them. That is much the same as if the states of Germany had united in the war against France until after the battle of Weissenburg, and then had parted to conquer the land separately. The variety of theories proposed to harmonize Jud. 1 and Jos. shows that they cannot be combined in any natural way.

5. *The theory that Jud. 1 is contradictory to Jos.* — Wellhausen, Kuenen, Meyer, Stade, Guthe, Budde, Moore, Nowack, Baudissin, H. P. Smith, Bennett, Cornill, Driver, G. A. Smith, Gemoll, and the majority of recent critics give up the effort to combine Jud. 1 with Jos., and regard it as an independent and contradictory account of the conquest. In this case it is ne-

cessary to determine the relative historical values of the two narratives.

There is general agreement that Jud. 1 is more reliable than Jos. for the following reasons: 1. There is no trace in later history of such a union of the tribes as the documents in Jos. assume. In the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5), Deborah, in the face of mortal danger, is able to get volunteers only from Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulon, Issachar and Naphtali, i. e., the northern tribes who were directly menaced by Sisera. Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher will not come, and Judah, Simeon, and Levi are not even invited. Throughout the Book of Judges, apart from editorial passages, the Judges appear as tribal leaders only, and the tribes are often at war with one another (Jud. 3 27; 6 34f.; 8 1; 9 6; 11 8; 12 4-6; 15 11f.). David and Solomon by force of arms held the tribes together for a while, but after Solomon's death they immediately fell apart.

2. The capture of the strongholds of Canaan by Joshua, according to D and P in Jos., is unhistorical in comparison with the statements of Jud. 1 and J in Jos. that the Israelites were unable to drive out the Canaanites. Jerusalem was not taken until the time of David (II Sam. 5 6-9; cf. Jud. 19 12; against Jos. 12 10). The Canaanites were not expelled from Gezer until the time of Solomon (I Ki. 9 16; cf. Jud. 1 29; against Jos. 12 12). Beth-shan remained in the hands of the Philistines until the time of David (I Sam. 31 10; cf. Jud. 1 27). Taanach and Megiddo were still Canaanite in the time of Deborah (Jud. 5 19; cf. 1 27; against Jos. 12 21; 21 25). Shechem was still a Canaanite city in the time of Abimelech (Jud. 9 28; cf. Gen. 34 2).

3. The older histories agree that the Canaanites were not exterminated, as D and P in Jos. record, but that they continued to dwell in the midst of Israel, as narrated in Jud. 1 and J in Jos. (cf. Jud. 3 1-6; II Sam. 24 7; I Ki. 9 20-21). The prohibitions of marriage with the Canaanites and of worship of their gods that continue down to Deuteronomy (Ex. 23 24. 32f.; 34 11-13; Deut. 7 1-5. 22) show that the Canaanites lived among the Israelites long after the conquest. Only thus can we explain the Canaanizing of the religion of Israel that the Prophets denounce.

It appears thus that in every particular the narrative of Jud. 1 is more credible than that of Jos. It must be made the basis of our conception of Israel's conquest of Canaan.

There is general agreement that Jud. 1 and the identical verses in Jos. 15—17 contain the earliest form of J's account of the conquest, and that the J sections in Jos. 1—11 which represent the tribes as united under the command of Joshua form a secondary stratum in the J document that approximates to the standpoint of D. These sections show more legendary embellishment than is found in J's narrative in Num. of the conquests east of the Jordan, and it is probable, therefore, that they are of later origin.

c. *The narratives of conquests in the Book of Numbers.* — In Num. 14 J, E and P narrate how Moses sent spies into Canaan from Kadesh-Barnea on the southern frontier, how their report so terrified the Hebrews that they refused to invade the land, and how they were sentenced to die in the desert. In Num. 14 39b-45 (J, Addis, Gray; E, Bacon, Meyer; JE, Baentsch, Carpenter) we read how, in spite of Moses' prohibition, they invaded southern Canaan, and were defeated by the Amalekites and Canaanites, and pursued as far as Ḥormah. The story is repeated in Deut. 1 41-44 with verbal dependence upon Numbers, but here "Amorites" is substituted for "Amalekites and Canaanites", and the defeat is said to have been "in Se'ir (Gr. from Se'ir) even unto Ḥormah."

Ḥormah is mentioned frequently as a city of the extreme south (Jos. 12 14; 15 30; 19 4; I Sam. 30 30; I Chr. 4 30). It does not survive in any modern name, but in Jud. 1 17 its original name is said to have been Ṣephath. Ṣephath is commonly identified with Sebaita, 22 mi. NNE. from Ḳadesh ('Ain Ḳadis) but this is philologically unsound. It is better with Robinson to identify it with the mountain ridge es-Ṣafâ, about 40 mi. NE. of Kadesh. The Se'ir of Deut. 1 44 will then be es-Se'er N. of the Wâdy Fikreh.

Nu. 21 1-3 (J) has nothing to do with its present context. It describes a successful northward movement of Israel into Canaan, while the context describes a southward movement from Kadesh. These verses are evidently the continuation of J's

account of the defeat at Ḥormah in Nu. 14 45. V. 1 states that some Israelites were taken prisoners by the Canaanites; v. 2, that Israel vowed to devote the Canaanite cities to destruction, and v. 3, that they captured them, destroyed them, and called the region Ḥormah. The two narratives join on naturally to one another, and the mention of Ḥormah in both shows that they form a connected series of events.

In Jud. 1 16-17 we find a duplicate to this narrative in Num. It mentions an attack on the Amalekites and Canaanites in the South, as does Num. 14 45. The wilderness of ʿArad (v. 16) lies just north of Ḥormah, around the modern Tell ʿArad. The invasion ends in the destruction of the Canaanite cities and the giving of the name Ḥormah, just as in Num. 21 3. The Kenites, Judah and Simeon make the attack in Jud. 1 16f.; in Num. 21 1ff. the general name Israel is used. In Jud. Ṣephath receives the name Ḥormah, while in Num. ʿArad apparently receives this name. The two places cannot be identified (cf. Jos. 12 14). It seems probable, however, that the words "the king of ʿArad" are a gloss in Num. 21 1, because the personal title is strange after the general name "the Canaanite," because in the following verses only the Canaanites are mentioned, and because these words are redundant before the following clause "who dwelt in the Negeb" (so Moore, Gray). In this case the difference vanishes. Even if "the king of Arad" be retained, there is no real difficulty in v. 3, for "place" may mean "district" as well as "city" and Ḥormah is used as the name of a district in Num. 14 45 and Deut. 1 44.

As to the relation of these two narratives, Bachmann and Cassel hold that they refer to different events. Ṣephath was first destroyed by Moses, but was subsequently rebuilt and again destroyed by Judah and Simeon after Joshua's conquests. This is very unlikely. A place that had been subjected to the *ḥerem*, or "ban," would not recover so easily. Palmer thinks that Num. 21 3 is an anticipation of Jud. 1 17, i. e., Israel vowed to devote Ṣephath in the days of Moses, but the vow was not fulfilled until over forty years later after Joshua's conquest. This is very unnatural. There is nothing in the passage that suggests that a long interval lies between vv. 2 and 3.

Moore thinks that Ḥormah meant originally "sanctuary" (cf. Ḥermon, Ḥorem), and that the connection with *ḥerem*, "ban," is a fanciful etymology. In this case we have merely different explanations of a name. Granted, however, that the etymology is fanciful, it could not have arisen unless Israel had executed the *ḥerem* on this region; and from the nature of the case that could not have happened twice. Accordingly, the great majority of critics hold that Num. 21 1-3 and Jud. 1 16f. are parallel accounts of the same event (so Studer, Ewald, Knobel, Bertheau, Dillmann, Wellhausen, Meyer, Kittel, Steuernagel, Bacon, Burney).

These two narratives, while agreeing in other particulars, differ fundamentally as to the manner of the entrance of the Hebrew tribes into Canaan. Num. 14 44f. + 21 1-3 brings them up from Kadesh in the south, while Jud. 1 16f. brings them in from the east. Steuernagel, Schiele, and H. P. Smith attempt to harmonize them by claiming that J had no account of the stay east of the Jordan, and that the City of Palms in Jud. 1 16 is not Jericho but Tamar, "Palm," in southern Judah; but, as Budde and Meyer show, the list of stations in Num. 21 18-20, the Balaam story, and the death of Moses in the land of Moab, belong certainly to J; and in Jud. 1 the conquest proceeds from the east. Jud. 1 1 assumes that the tribes are together, apparently at Gilgal, since in 2 1a. 5b (J) the angel of Yahweh goes up from Gilgal to Bochim (Bethel). The king of Jerusalem in the center of the land is attacked first (Jud. 1 4-7), and the conquest then proceeds southward and northward from this center. There is no reason, accordingly, why the "City of Palms" in Jud. 1 16 should not have the usual meaning "Jericho" (Deut. 34 3; II Chr. 28 15; Jud. 3 13). It is clear, therefore, that the main strand of J to which Jud. 1 belongs assumes that the tribes entered Canaan together from the east.

Kittel atempts to solve the discrepancy by omitting the words "with the children of Judah" in Jud. 1 16, and the words "and Judah went with Simeon his brother" in v. 17; the invasion from the south then refers to the Kenites only. In justification of this emendation he points out that Judah was settled farther north than Ṣephath, and that it did not capture Hebron

or Debir; it is doubtful, therefore, whether it penetrated so far south as Ṣephath. This argument assumes the correctness of Jud. 1, which makes the conquests of Judah proceed from north to south. If Judah and Simeon came in from the south, as Num. relates, then there is no difficulty in supposing that they conquered Ṣephath with the Kenites before they moved up into their later abodes. It is manifestly unfair to emend the text on no other basis than the foregone conclusion that Judah and Simeon entered Canaan from the east.

We find here, accordingly, conflicting traditions. The main stock of J brings all the tribes into Canaan from the east; the unrelated fragments that J has incorporated in Num. 14 44 f. and Num. 21 1-3 bring some of them in from the south. We must choose between these conceptions.

Wellhausen, Guthe, Kittel, Benzinger, Cornill, Matthes, Kent, Peters, prefer the tradition in Jud. 1; but there is much in favor of the correctness of the narrative of Num. If Judah and Simeon conquered their territories independently, as Jud. 1 relates, it is improbable that they were united with the other tribes as far as Gilgal. If such a union had existed, it would not have been dissolved on the border of Canaan, when the hardest fighting remained still to be done. The account of Num. which makes part of Israel invade Canaan from Kadesh furnishes a much more natural introduction to the separate conquests by Judah, Simeon, Caleb, Othniel and the Kenites in Jud. 1 than does the present context in J. Ṣephath is only about 40 miles distant from Kadesh. It is more probable that it was conquered directly from Kadesh, as Num. relates, than by the circuitous route around the land of Edom, by way of Gilgal, Jericho and Jerusalem, as Jud. 1 assumes. In the time of David Judah lived far north of Ṣephath. If Jud. 1 is correct, we must suppose that this tribe conquered southward as far as Ṣephath; and then, for some unknown reason, returned to the north. If Num. is correct, then the capture of Ṣephath was merely an incident in the northward movement of Judah from Kadesh to its later seat. The separation of Judah from the northern tribes down to the period of the monarchy by Jerusalem and a belt of Canaanite towns in the center of the

land is more easily explained, if the two main divisions of Israel invaded Canaan from opposite sides and failed to make connection, than if they entered the land together.

This view is strengthened by the consideration that the clan of Caleb, which Jud. 1 10f. 20 couples with Judah, seems to have invaded Canaan from the south. In Jud. 1 13 Caleb is called the son of Kenaz, and in Jos. 14 6. 14; Num. 32 12, the Kenizzite. Jos. 15 13 suggests that the clan was of non-Israelitish origin by saying that Caleb received a portion "in the midst of the children of Judah." In Gen. 36 11. 15. 42 Kenaz appears as an Edomite family. In this case it is more likely that Caleb invaded Canaan from the south than from the east, since Kadesh was on the border of Edom (Num. 20 16 E). This view is favored by the story of the spies in Num. 13. In J Caleb alone is mentioned as the one sent from Kadesh to explore the south of Canaan. He encourages the people to go up (13 30), and he alone is promised an inheritance in the land (Num. 14 24; Deut. 1 36). This seems to be a reminiscence of the fact that the clan of Caleb entered Canaan from Kadesh. This view is confirmed by the fact that in Num. 13 22 (J) Caleb finds the three sons of Anak, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai at Hebron when he goes to spy out the land, and the same three personages again when he conquers Hebron (Jud. 1 10. 20b = Jos. 15 14). This shows that in the thought of the original J document there was no long interval between Caleb's spying out of Hebron and his conquest of it, that is, Caleb's conquest was made from Kadesh, just as his tour of exploration. The union of Caleb with Judah is commonly assigned to the time of David, but there is no evidence for this view, and David's choice of Hebron as his capital suggests a much earlier incorporation. The genealogies of Judah also contain many Calebite and Edomite names.

It appears, accordingly, that the tradition in Num. that makes the southern tribes enter Canaan from Kadesh is more probable than the tradition in Jos. and Jud. 1 which makes them enter from the east (so Kuenen, Meyer, H. P. Smith, Steuernagel, Cook, Baentsch, Burney, Gressmann, Asmussen, Schiele, Segond). When under David and Solomon the tribes were united into one nation, it was supposed that their forefathers

were similarly united; consequently the writer of the main stock of J harmonized the tradition of the Southern tribes with that of the Northern tribes by bringing all the tribes first to Kadesh, and then around Edom (Num. 20 14-21) to invade the land from the east. He still preserved the memory, however, that the tribes had conquered their territories independently. The next step was taken by the Judean writer in Jos., who made the tribes conquer the land unitedly under the leadership of Joshua, but who did not represent the conquest as complete. The final step in the evolution of the tradition was taken by D in Jos. who represented the land as completely conquered by Joshua, and the Canaanites as entirely destroyed.

d. *The conquest by the Danites in Jud. 18.*—In Jud. 18 the J document narrates how the Danites migrated and captured the city of Laish near the source of the Jordan, which they renamed Dan. In Jos. 19 47 we find a briefer account of the same migration, and in Jud. 1 34 we read, "The Amorites forced the children of Dan into the Highland, for they would not allow them to descend into the Maritime Plain." There is general agreement that this verse refers to the same period as Jud. 18 and Jos. 19 47.

e. *The war with Sisera* (Jud. 4—5).—Jud. 4 and 5 contain independent accounts of a war with the Canaanites under the leadership of Sisera; the former is from E, the latter from J. In 4 2. 7. 17. 24 Sisera is called "the general of Jabin, king of Hazor." Jabin was the king with whom Joshua fought (Jos. 11), and this has led a number of critics to suppose that Deborah was a contemporary of Joshua. Jabin is not mentioned, however, in the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5), and Sisera appears there as the king (vv. 19. 20. 28-30). In chapter 4 also Sisera is the chief figure. Most critics, accordingly, are of the opinion that the combination of Jabin with Sisera in Jud. 4 is the work of the Deuteronomic editor. The position of the tribes in the Song of Deborah indicates a later time than that described in Jud. 1.

f. *The genealogies in Chronicles.*—In I Chr. 2 we find a number of fragments of genealogies that refer to early migrations of Caleb. In 2 18 we are told that Caleb's first wives were

ʿAzubah, "the desert," and Jerioth, "tents"; or perhaps we should read, "ʿAzubah, daughter of Jerioth." In either case there is an illusion to the primitive nomadic life of Caleb. Caleb's "sons" by ʿAzubah were Jesher, Shobab, and Ardon (v. 18) which seem to be localities in the extreme south of Judah. In 2 42-45 other "sons" of Caleb are mentioned namely, Ziph, Maresha, Hebron, and other towns in central Judea. In 2 19f. 50-54 Caleb takes Ephrath as wife, and her children are Kirjath-jearim, Beth-lehem, Beth-gader and other towns of northern Judah in the district of Ephrath. Here we have a migration of Caleb from the southern desert into northern Judea that corresponds to Num. 13 22; Jud. 1 10. 20b and Jos. 15 14.

In like manner the genealogy of Jerahmeel in I Chr. 2 25-44 seems to preserve a memory of the migration of this tribe (cf. I Sam. 27 10; 30 29).

The genealogy of Simeon contains a curious record, not found elsewhere in the Old Testament (I Chr. 4 39-43), which tells how the Simeonites invaded Gedor (Gerar), smote the Meʿunim (Minaeans), and settled in Mount Seir (cf. Deut. 1 44 = Num. 14 45). Simeon had already disappeared by the time of the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), about 800 B.C.; these conquests, accordingly, must belong to an early period. It is possible that here we have a reminiscence of the first conquests by Simeon in the extreme south. All these fragments of genealogies favor the theory that the southern tribes entered Canaan from Kadesh.

g. *The Patriarchal stories in Genesis.* — The Book of Genesis contains several accounts of Hebrew settlements in Canaan. It is important that we should determine the relation of these to the narratives of Jos. and Jud.

1. *The sons of Israel* (Gen. 32—38).—Traditionally these have been supposed to be the individual ancestors of the Hebrews, but the names are used tribally in other books of the Old Testament, and all that is said about them here demands a tribal interpretation. When in Gen. 34 25 we read, "Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brothers, took each man his sword, and came upon the city unawares, and slew all the males," there is no difference from Jud. 1 3, "And Judah said unto Simeon his

brother, Come up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites." In the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49) there is not one statement that can naturally be referred to the individual sons of Jacob. Of Simeon and Levi it is said, "I will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel" (v. 7), "Zebulon dwells at the haven of the sea" (v. 13), "May Dan judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel" (v. 16).

Kittel, König and Burney admit that these stories must be given a tribal interpretation, but insist that they belong to an earlier age than the narratives in Jos. and Jud. All that can be said in favor of this view is that there are some episodes in Gen. that are not found in Jos. and Jud.

Against this theory is the parallelism of these stories of Gen. with the narratives of Num., Jos., and Jud. 1. When Jacob wishes to enter Canaan, he fears his brother Esau, and sends ambassadors to him (Gen. 32 3—33 16); so Israel sends ambassadors to Edom, and goes around its territory (Num. 20 14-22). Jacob enters Canaan from the east (Gen. 32—33); so also Israel, according to Jos. and Jud. 1. Jacob comes to Shalem (Gen. 33 18a), so Judah aud Simeon first encounter the king of Jerusalem (Jud. 1 4-7). Simeon and Levi attack the people of Shechem (Gen. 34), so Simeon and Judah go up first against the Canaanites (Jud. 1 8). Because of the treacherous attack on Shechem, Simeon and Levi are cursed to be scattered in Israel (Gen. 49 7), so in Jud. 1 3. 17 Simeon is attached to Judah, and in Jos. 19 1. 9 receives his inheritance "in the midst of the children of Judah." Levi is not mentioned in Jud. 1, and in Jud. 17 1f.; 19 1 the Levites appear as wanderers without tribal inheritance. Simeon and Levi are not mentioned in the Song of Deborah, in the lists of southern clans I Sam. 27 10; 30 26-31, in the "Blessing of Moses" (Deut. 33), nor in the Books of Samuel and Kings. Jacob goes up to Bethel and builds an altar there (Gen. 35 6f.), so the tribe of Joseph captures Bethel (Jud. 1 22-26) and offers sacrifice there (Jud. 2 1a. 5b).

The "oak of weeping" is named at Bethel (Gen. 35 8), so Bethel is called Bochim, "Weeping" (Jud. 2 5). At Shechem Jacob bids his people to put away their idols (Gen. 35 2-4); so Joshua holds an assembly at Shechem, in which he adjures the

people to forsake the strange gods (Jos. 24). Judah separates from his brethren and goes down into the South, where he establishes relations with the Canaanites (Gen. 38); so Judah moves southward (Jud. 1 8ff.). Simeon marries a Canaanite woman (Gen. 46 10), and the Book of Jubilees which preserves many a fragment of ancient tradition says (44 13) that Simeon's wife was a woman of Ṣephath; so Simeon captures Ṣephath (Jud. 1 17).

The order of birth of the sons of Israel in Gen. is the order in which, according to the later narratives of the Hexateuch, the tribes of Israel settled in Canaan. Reuben is the firstborn (Gen. 29 32; 49 3), because this tribe first occupied the region east of the Jordan (Num. 32). Simeon, Levi, and Judah come next, because they were the first to invade the land west of the Jordan (Jud. 1 3ff.). Joseph is last, because his settlement was the latest (Jud. 1 22ff.). Benjamin, "the son of the south," alone of all the sons of Israel, is born in the land of Canaan (Gen. 35 18). This indicates that this tribe originated after the conquest as an offshoot from the Rachel tribes, and this view is confirmed by the fact that Benjamin is not mentioned among the tribes that invaded Canaan in Jud. 1 (the correct text of Jud. 1 21 is preserved in Jos. 15 63), although it was already in existence in the time of Deborah (Jud. 5 14).

In view of this parallelism it seems impossible to deny that the stories of Israel and his sons in Gen. refer to the same events that are narrated in Jos. and Jud. 1. This conclusion is not shaken by the fact that some incidents are found in Gen. that are not found in Jos. and Jud. 1. Levi is associated with Simeon in Gen. 34, but not in Jud. 1; we know, however, that Levi belonged originally to the southern group of tribes (Jud. 17 7, 19 1) and the genealogies of Levi contain many names that indicate residence in the South (Cook, *Notes*, p. 86). The attack of Simeon and Levi on Shechem is not found in Jos. or Jud. 1, but the scattering of these tribes that was a result of this expedition is attested in the period of the Judges. Reuben's violation of Bilhah (Gen. 35 22; 49 4) must refer to conquests of the tribe of Reuben west of the Jordan. These are not narrated in Jos. or Jud. 1; but in Jos. 15 6; 18 17 mention is made of the "stone of Bohan the son of Reuben," which indicates that

Reuben once gained a foothold west of the Jordan. These differences from Jos. and Jud. 1 are not a sufficient reason for assigning the stories of the sons of Jacob to a different period from the stories of the conquest (so Kuenen, Wellhausen, Meyer, Budde, P. H. Smith, Cook).

2. *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and their wives.*—The traditional view among Jews and Christians has been that these Patriarchs were the individual forefathers of Israel. The difficulties with this view are, first, that no such small group of persons could have penetrated Canaan successfully and have maintained itself there under the warlike conditions depicted in the Egyptian inscriptions and the Amarna letters. Second, history shows that tribes and nations do not arise by natural descent from single ancestors, but that common ancestry is a legal fiction designed to bind heterogeneous races together. Third, in the genealogies of Gen. the names of the Patriarchs are mingled with names that are certainly tribal in their meaning. Fourth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Israel, appear in the later books of the Old Testament as names for the nation. Fifth, many of the stories about these Patriarchs admit only a tribal interpretation.

These considerations lead many modern critics to hold that, while there may have been individuals named Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, these names were also applied to the clans of which they were leaders. The question then rises, To what period of history did these clans belong?

From the fact that they appear in the Book of Genesis as forefathers of the tribes of Israel it has commonly been assumed that they were more ancient than the tribes that we meet in Ex.-Jud. Ewald, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Kittel, König, Klostermann, Cornill, Prášek, Proksch, Burney, Ottley, Wade, tell us about an Abraham people that united with a Sarah people, and entered Canaan as early as 2000 B.C. Isaac and Rebekah were later waves of Aramaean migration into which the Abraham and Sara people were absorbed. Jacob was a third wave, and Israel a fourth. Leah and Rachel were smaller tribes that were absorbed by Jacob, or, as Proksch and Kittel think, Leah belonged to Israel and Rachel to Jacob.

The difficulties with this theory are (1) that Israel had no memory of the events of the sojourn in Egypt, and it is improbable that it retained the memory of a still earlier period. (2) No traces of these hypothetical Hebrew tribes survive in the later history of Israel, in the genealogies of the other Old Testament books, or in archaeology. Jacob, Israel, and some of the "sons" of Israel are known to us archaeologically, but Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah and Rachel are unknown. (3) Jacob-Israel is not older than his sons. If, as we have just seen, the tribes conquered Canaan separately, there is no probability that the inclusive names Jacob and Israel originated before their unification in Canaan. (4) Leah and Rachel are merely collective names for the two main groups of tribes that entered Canaan from the south and the east respectively. Levi is connected etymologically with Leah, and the children of Leah are the tribes which tradition connects with Kadesh. Haupt's suggestion (*ZATW.* 1909, p. 284) that Leah means "cow" and Rachel means "sheep"; and that the "sons of Leah" are the "cowboys," and the "sons of Rachel" the "shepherds," is plausible, and points to conditions that existed after the occupation of Canaan. (5) Zilpah and Bilhah, the mothers of four of the later tribes of Israel, are regarded as concubines, which shows that these tribes were of alien origin. This is more easily explained as an absorption of Canaanite, or earlier Hebraic elements, after the conquest than as an absorption of such elements in the desert. Influenced by these considerations Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Meyer, Guthe, Cook, H. P. Smith, Winckler, Cheyne, Kent, Budde, hold that the traditions of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob originated after the conquest.

In the case of Jacob and Esau it is obvious that they reflect the history of the nations of Israel and Edom down into the period of the monarchy. Gen. 25 23 refers to David's conquest of Edom (I Chr. 18 12). Gen. 27 40 refers to the successful revolt of Edom (II Ki. 8 22). It is probable also that Jacob's dealings with Esau refer to the relations between Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus in the period of the kings. It appears accordingly, as Wellhausen says, that Jacob is younger than his sons, i. e., the traditions concerning united Israel did not

arise until the originally independent tribes were welded into a nation.

Following out this idea, Wellhausen attempts to show that Abraham and Isaac also personify the national history of Israel. Abraham, like Israel, is a stranger in Canaan, who derives his title from the gift of Yahweh. He waits many years before the promise of a numerous posterity begins to realize itself. He does not take possession of his heritage at once, but lives in faith of a future ownership. Isaac is a child of his father's old age, just as Israel is the last-born of a group of nations. He comes near to losing his life in childhood, just as Israel runs the risk of extinction soon after the occupation of Canaan. He loves peace, just as Israel cherishes the ideal of "dwelling each under his own vine and fig-tree with none to disturb."

These parallels to the history of Israel are not very striking, and there is a lack of specific allusions to late events. Accordingly, in the cases of Abraham and Isaac the theory of personification of the nation of Israel is not wholly satisfactory.

It seems more likely that we have here traditions borrowed from the Canaanites, for the following reasons:—(1) The Canaanites were not exterminated, but they dwelt in the midst of Israel and eventually mingled with the Israelites. In this process Canaanite traditions must have been learned by the Hebrews and blended with their own traditions. This has actually happened in the case of the Babylonian traditions of Gen. 1—11, which must have come to Israel by way of the Canaanites. It would be surprising, if some of the Patriarchal traditions did not come from the same source.

(2) The traditions of Abraham and Isaac, and some of the traditions of Jacob, bear marks of this origin in the fact that they are designed to explain the origin of the holy trees, holy stones, altars, and sepulchers of the land of Canaan. These were ancient sanctuaries that were in existence long before the arrival of the Hebrews, and they were adopted by Israel after the conquest, as we know from the later historical books. The Patriarchs, who are connected with these sanctuaries must have belonged originally to Canaanite tradition, and have been adopted later by Israel.

(3) Eerdmans (*Expos.* 1908, p. 118) has called attention to the fact that the Patriarchs often appear as Fellâḥîn rather than as Bedawîn, e. g., Isaac sows and reaps (Gen. 26 12); and from this fact he draws the conclusion that the agricultural legislation of the Pentateuch was adapted to the life of Israel before the conquest. A juster conclusion would be, that the Patriarchs were not the heroes of a nomadic people like Israel, but of an agricultural people like the Canaanites.

(4) Our documents agree that Israel belonged to the Aramaean race. The testimony of archaeology is that this race did not migrate out of the desert before 1500 B.C. But there are some elements in the patriarchal tradition that point to a higher antiquity. In Gen. 14 1 Abram is a contemporary of 'Amraphel, who is generally conceded to be the same as Ḥammurabi, king of Babylon, who reigned 1958—1916 B.C. The name Abram was not in use in ancient Israel, but it was common in Babylonia during the Amorite period. This suggests that Abram belongs to the Canaanite rather than the Hebrew strand of tradition. In like manner Jacob appears in contract-tablets of the Ḥammurabi period, and in Egypt during the Hyksos period, but it was not used as a personal name by Israel.

(5) Gen. 11 31 represents Abram as migrating from Ur of the Chaldees. This is quite irreconcilable with the Aramaean origin of Israel, but accords with the fact that the Amorites settled simultaneously in Babylonia and in Canaan.

(6) The double names borne by so many of the Patriarchs suggest a blending of Canaanite with Hebrew tradition. Abram = Abraham, Lot = Moab and Ammon, Jacob = Israel, Esau = Edom, Joseph = Ephraim and Manasseh. In all these pairs the first name shows an early, pre-Aramaean type, and is monumentally attested before 1500 B.C.; the second name is of a later, Aramaean type. It looks as though the identification of the names were due to a blending of the Hebraic peoples with an earlier population.

These considerations have led Meyer, Guthe, Winckler, Erbt, Peters, and others to the conclusion that Abram, Isaac and Jacob were the heroes of the sanctuaries of Canaan that were adopted by Israel after the conquest. If this be so, the trad-

itions about them throw no light upon the Hebrew conquest, however valuable they may be for reconstructing the history of ancient Canaan.

h. *The narratives of the wandering in the desert.*—The Books of Exodus and Numbers, apart from the passages already considered, contain no direct information in regard to the conquest, but they throw so much indirect light upon it that a consideration of them at this point is unavoidable.

One of the most remarkable features of the story of the wanderings is the inability of the documents to combine the stay at Kadesh with the stay at Sinai. In Ex. 15 25b (E), immediately after the crossing of the Red Sea, there is a fragment that explains the origin of the name Massah. Massah, "testing," is the same as Meribah, "trying" (Deut. 33 8; Ex. 17 7); and Meribah is identical with Kadesh (Num. 27 14; Deut. 33 2, read "and he came unto Meribath-Kadesh"). After this isolated mention of Kadesh the march to Sinai is resumed, but in 15 4-6 (E) Moses strikes water from the rock, and in v. 7 the spring is called Massah and Meribah. Here we are back at Kadesh again, and the incident is repeated in Num. 20 1-13 (JP). In Ex. 17 8-16 (E) Israel fights with Amalek, but Amalek is the foe encountered at Kadesh (Nu. 14 45). In Ex. 18 (mainly E) Moses appoints judges, but this happened at Kadesh according to Nu. 11 16f. (E).

From these facts Wellhausen, Smend, Meyer, Luther, Cook infer that the Sinai episode in Ex. 19—Num. 10 is a late and unauthentic intrusion in the tradition. According to the original J and E, Israel went straight from Egypt to Kadesh, and remained there until the invasion of Canaan. This is unlikely on account of the prominence of Sinai in the tradition of the exodus. A more natural explanation of the facts is that J and E held different views in regard to the relation of Kadesh and Sinai, and that in the process of composition these views have been confused. In Num. 10 33; 11 35; 12 16 J represents the Israelites as journeying directly from Sinai to Kadesh. Deut. 1 19, which depends on J, makes Kadesh follow Sinai (cf. 33 8), and Deut. knows no earlier visit to Kadesh. E, on the other hand, seems to have placed Kadesh immediately after the crossing of the Red Sea.

E and D make the forty-years wandering follow Kadesh (Num. 14 25 E; Deut. 1 46—2 1), but P omits Kadesh after Hazeroth in the list of stations (Num. 33 17; cf. Num. 12 16 J; Deut. 33 2), and does not insert Kadesh until the end of the forty-years wandering (Num. 33 36. 37; cf. v. 39). J mentions no wandering in the desert, but makes the tribes stay at Kadesh until the generation that came out of Egypt had perished (Num. 14 31).

Kittel, Guthe, Bönhoff, Jeremias, Benzinger and McNeile attempt to remove the difficulty by assuming that Sinai was situated in the vicinity of Kadesh; but Sinai lay in the land of Midian (Ex. 2 15), and we know of no Midian in the neighborhood of Kadesh. In Num. 10 33; 11 35; 12 16 J narrates that Israel journeyed three days from Sinai, and then three other stages before coming to Kadesh. Horeb also is remote from Kadesh according to E. Ex. 13 17 (E) shows that Israel went from Egypt in an opposite direction to Kadesh, and Deut. 1 2, depending on E, says that it is eleven days journey from Horeb to Kadesh. Horeb in Ex. 17 6 must be a gloss, since, according to the narrative of E, Israel had not yet reached Horeb.

Kadesh is undoubtably ʿAin Ḳadis on the southern border of Canaan. Sinai is traditionally identified with Jebel Mûsa at the southern end of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, and this is still the view of König, Petrie, Duncan, Hoskins; but there is little to be said in favor of this location. The proposed identifications of the stations of the exodus with places in the Sinaitic Peninsula are unconvincing. The tradition that Sinai is Jebel Mûsa cannot be traced back farther than the fourth century of our era. It is improbable that the Hebrews, who were intending to invade Canaan, should have taken the circuitous route around the Sinaitic Peninsula, through an arid region incapable of sustaining a large population, when they might take the easy and natural caravan-route straight across the peninsula to Elâth at the head of the Gulf of ʿAqaba, where there were copious springs. From the time of the first dynasty onward the Sinaitic Peninsula was occupied by garrisons of Egyptian troops that protected the copper-mines. If the Hebrews had gone that way, they would have marched straight into an Egyptian stronghold.

Sinai lay in the land of Midian (Ex. 2 15; 4 19 J), and the only Midian known to history was on the eastern side of the Gulf of ʿAqaba. According to J (Ex. 15 22-24. 27), Israel journeyed three days through the desert of Shur, "the wall," so called from the wall of Egypt that guarded the Isthmus; and came first to Marah, and then to Elîm, where there were twelve springs of water. Elîm is a masculine plural of the same word of which Elâth, or Elôth, is the feminine plural. Elâth, at the head of the Gulf of ʿAqaba, was famous in antiquity for its springs and its palm-trees. The description of Sinai by J in Ex. 19 shows that at the time of the exodus it was an active volcano. The traditional Sinai is not a volcano; but on the other hand, the mountain-chain that skirts the western coast of Arabia is the seat of intense volcanic activity, and eruptions have taken place within historic times. Later allusions to Sinai also indicate that it lay south of Seir, or Edom, e. g., Jud. 5 4; Deut. 33 2; Hab. 3 3. These facts show that we are to look for Sinai in northwestern Arabia east of Elâth (so Beke, Greene, von Gall, Wellhausen, Meyer, Cheyne, Haupt, Cook).

Von Gall and Meyer think that the Horeb of E and D was distinct from Sinai and lay in the traditional location. This opinion is based upon Ex. 13 17 f., where E says that Israel did not go from Egypt "by the way of the land of the Philistines" but "by the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea." This is supposed to show that they followed a route along the shore of the Gulf of Suez, but "Red Sea" means the Gulf of ʿAqaba as well as the Gulf of Suez (e. g., I Ki. 9 26). The "way of the Philistines" means the road that leads to Philistia, i. e., the regular caravan-route along the Mediterranean. The "way of the Red Sea" means naturally the road that leads to the port of Elâth on the Red Sea, the other main caravan-route out of Egypt. If Horeb had lain in the Sinaitic Peninsula, the route to it would have been called "the way of Horeb." E, accordingly, takes us in the same direction as J. Moreover, in Ex. 19 E describes Horeb as a volcano which shows that he has the same mountain in mind as J. The name חֹרֵב, "devastator," is probably only an epithet of Sinai derived from its volcanic character.

Accordingly, Sinai-Horeb and Kadesh lay in entirely different regions, so that we are still confronted with the problem of the relation of these places in the tradition of the Exodus. When we remember that our previous investigations have led us to recognize that the Leah tribes invaded Canaan directly from Kadesh, while the Rachel tribes entered from the east, the most natural hypothesis seems to be that the documents of the Pentateuch cannot combine Kadesh and Sinai successfully because these centers belonged originally to different groups of tribes that were independent of one another until after the conquest.

Kadesh is certainly connected with the Leah tribes, since, according to Num. 21 1-3 and the genealogies of Chronicles, these tribes invaded Canaan from the south. Sinai must then belong to the Rachel tribes that conquered their possessions from the east. In the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5 3-5), which belongs to the northern tribes, Yahweh comes from Sinai to help his people, even though the words "that is Sinai" in v. 5 may be a gloss. Elijah also, the prophet of the northern kingdom, seeks Yahweh at Horeb (I Ki. 19 8). In the traditions of the stay at Kadesh we find the Leah tribes specially mentioned, e. g., Reuben and Levi (Num. 16 1; Deut. 33 8), but never Joseph. Joshua, the leader of Ephraim, although inserted by P, is conspicuous by his absence from the story of the sending of the spies from Kadesh in J, E, and D.

It seems, therefore, as if the division of the tribes that we have discovered at the time of the conquest extended backward into the period of the sojourn in the desert. The Leah tribes were at Kadesh; the Rachel tribes were at Sinai, and these two sojourns may have been widely separated in point of time, just as the two conquests of Canaan. After the founding of the monarchy, when the tribes were united into one people, the same tendencies that led them to combine their separate conquests into a single conquest under the leadership of Joshua led them also to combine their separate sojourns in the desert into one sojourn under the leadership of Moses. The various positions that Kadesh occupies in the tradition of the wanderings are due, accordingly, to various attempts to combine the

originally distinct cycles of tradition that clustered about Kadesh and Sinai. This conclusion leads us to inquire whether the division of the Hebrew tribes into two groups may not have extended back still further into the period of the sojourn in Egypt.

i. *The narratives of the sojourn in Egypt.*

1. *Was Israel in Egypt?*—According to J (Gen. 45 10; 46 28; 47 27; Ex. 8 22; 9 26) the Hebrews dwelt in the land of Goshen, and lived there a nomadic life with their flocks and their herds (Gen. 46 32-34; 47 1; 50 8; Ex. 10 9. 24; 12 32. 38). Gen. 46 32 states expressly that they could not enter Egypt proper because they were "shepherds." The land of Goshen has been certainly identified through the excavations of Naville as the district about the Egyptian town of *G-s-m* on the site of the modern Saft el-Henneh. This region belongs physically to the desert rather than to Egypt, and is occupied today chiefly by nomadic Arabs. It is well adapted to the breeding of sheep and goats. On the other hand, E and P state that the Hebrews were settled in Egypt proper, on the banks of the Nile, among the Egyptians (Gen. 45 18 E; 47 11 P; Ex. 2 15 E; 2 3-5 E; 3 22 E; 11 2 E).

Of these two representations that of J is unquestionably preferable. The Hebrews were nomads at the time of the exodus, and this could not have been the case unless they had remained nomads during their stay in Egypt. This was possible in Goshen, but not on the banks of the Nile. The only question then is, Whether the stay in Goshen is credible. Against its credibility it has been argued that the Egyptian monuments contain no mention of the Hebrews. This is not quite certain; but even if it be true, it proves nothing. Another objection is the absence of Egyptian influence in the religion of Israel. This is not surprising, if the Hebrews continued to lead a nomadic life in Goshen, practically untouched by Egyptian civilization.

Within the last few years objections have been raised to the sojourn in Egypt on the basis of the discovery of a North Arabian land called Muṣri, which, it is thought, is often confused in the Old Testament with Miṣraim, Egypt. Winckler and Cheyne

hold that the Egypt of the exodus is an instance of this confusion, and that the Hebrews really migrated out of North Arabia. Similar is the view of Stade, Schiele, and Gemoll, based upon Jos. 10 41; 11 16, that the land of Goshen extended from the border of Egypt to southern Palestine. According to Gemoll the exodus was merely the movement of some Hebrew tribes from the south to the north of Canaan.

Against these theories it may be said (1) that the proof of the existence of a North Arabian land of Muṣri is not a disproof of the existence of Miṣraim, Egypt.

(2) The fact that there was a Goshen in Egypt and a Goshen in Canaan does not prove that the land of Goshen occupied the entire region between these places. The Greek for Goshen in Egypt is Γέσεμ, and for Goshen in Canaan, Γόσομ.

(3) From the earliest times Asiatics were admitted into Egypt. We have records of such admissions in the reign of Sesostris II (1900 B.C.) (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* i, p. 281), in the reign of Harmhab (1350 B.C.) (Breasted, iii, p. 7), and the reign of Merneptah (1225 B.C.) (Breasted, iii, p. 273), where the people admitted are Edomites.

(4) There is a strong Egyptian color in the stories of Joseph and of the bondage, for instance, the dependence of the land upon the Nile, the etiquette of the Egyptian court, the process of embalming, the building of store-cities for grain, the use of sun-dried bricks, and the employment of forced labor. The burden of proof rests upon those who hold that this Egyptian color is interpolated in the tradition of the bondage. There is general agreement that the name Moses is of Egyptian origin, being the same as the element *môsé* "child," in the names of so many of the Pharaohs. Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (Ex. 6 25) is also an Egyptian name, and so is Putiel, his maternal grandfather (Ex. 6 25). These names are found in P, but they seem to rest on ancient tradition, since Phinehas reappears in the high priestly family of Eli (I Sam. 4 11; cf. Jos. 24 33 E). According to Ex. 1 11 J, the Hebrews built for Pharaoh the store-cities of Pithom and Ramses. Pithom has been identified in the land of Goshen by the excavations of Naville, and Ramses is evidently the royal name Ramses. When Cheyne

seeks to invalidate this testimony by claiming that Moses is a corruption of Ishmael, Ramses a corruption of Aram-Ishmael, and Pithom a corruption of 'Arab-Ishmael, his argument is scarcely convincing.

(5) The ancient song of victory, a fragment of which has been preserved by J in Ex. 15 1, and by E in Ex. 15 21, presupposes an exodus from Egypt and a crossing of the Red Sea.

(6) The conception of Yahweh as a God who had redeemed his people that underlies the whole later religion of Israel is inexplicable except on the basis of a historic exodus, not from North Arabia, but from the mighty empire of the Pharaohs.

In view of these facts there is general agreement among recent critics that part at least of the tribes that made up later Israel sojourned for a time within the borders of Egypt.

2. *Was all of Israel in Egypt?*—In their present form our documents assume that all the sons of Jacob went down to Egypt, and that all the tribes took part in the exodus, but there are a number of facts that suggest that only a part of the tribes was there. According to J, the Hebrews formed a small community in the district of Goshen, that could easily be gathered by Moses to receive a message. They built the two granaries of Pithom and Ramses, which suggests that there were not more than two clans. In Ex. 1 10 the Pharaoh says, "Come let us deal wisely with them lest they multiply." According to E, the Hebrews were so few that two midwives sufficed for their needs (Ex. 1 15). This also suggests that there were not more than two clans. Even P holds that only seventy persons went down to Egypt, although he sets the number that went out at 600,000. Goshen had but little room, and could sustain only a small population. The march through the desert also would have been impossible for a large body of people on account of the limited water-supply. Moreover, the genealogies in I Chr. 1—8 ignore the exodus, and thus suggest that there were parts of Israel that were never in Egypt. The same is true of some of the stories of Genesis which assume an unbroken residence of certain tribes in Canaan (e. g. Gen. 38). The con-

clusions that we have reached already in regard to the conquest and the sojourn in the desert point in the same direction. If the Hebrew tribes conquered Canaan separately, and were divided in their residence in the desert. there is a strong probability that only a part of them was in Egypt.

3. *Which part of Israel was in Egypt?*—Weinheimer holds that it was the Hebrews in distinction from the tribes of Israel. "Hebrew" is a wider term than "Israelite," as appears from Gen. 10 21 J; 11 14 P. Num. 24 24 J also distinguishes Heber from Israel. In I Sam. 14 21, and possibly 13 3, the Hebrews seem to be discriminated from Israel. Now the name Hebrew occurs with peculiar frequency in the story of the sojourn in Egypt (Gen. 39 14. 17; 40 15; 41 12; Ex. 1 16. 19; 2 6; 3 18; 5 3; 7 16; 9 1. 13; 10 3), and from this Weinheimer infers that only the Hebrews were in Egypt, and that subsequently they united with Israel in Canaan. This is far too slender a basis on which to build so large an hypothesis. In I Sam. 13 3 and 14 21 the Greek has "slaves" instead of Hebrews, showing that it read עבדים instead of עברים, which makes quite as good sense. We have no other evidence of Hebrews in Canaan distinct from Israel, and there is no reason to suspect a cleavage of the nation along this line.

Spiegelberg and H. P. Smith suggest that the tribe of Jacob was in Egypt, but not the tribe of Israel. The union of these two peoples was first effected in Canaan; but we find no trace of a distinction between Jacob and Israel in the stories of the wandering, in the conquest, or in the later history of the nation.

Kittel holds that all the tribes were settled in Canaan in the Patriarchal age, and that fragments of all of them went down to Egypt under the leadership of Joseph. This theory assumes that the stories of the Patriarchs can be assigned to a different age from the stories of the conquest in Jos. and Jud., a view that we have already seen to be untenable. The splitting of tribes that it postulates is improbable, and the stories of the conquest know nothing of the half-tribes that are supposed to have remained in Canaan. The only division of Israel that is known in later times is that between the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes. The question then is, whether the people who

left Egypt belonged to the Kadesh-Leah group, or to the Sinai-Rachel group.

Meyer, Luther, Schiele and Haupt connect the exodus traditions with the Kadesh-Leah group. Wellhausen, Guthe, Bennett, Asmussen, Toy, Prášek, Benzinger, Steuernagel and Cook connect them with the Sinai-Rachel group. In attempting to decide between these theories we must investigate the testimony of tradition on the following points:

(1) *Which tribes are most prominent in the tradition of the sojourn in Egypt?* To this question only one answer can be given: Joseph alone is conspicuous. Joseph is sold into Egypt by his brothers, and he is the center of interest in Gen. 37—49. It is true that the other brothers also are brought down to Egypt, in accordance with the theory that Israel was a unit from the beginning, but nothing is told about their history. This seems to indicate that only the two Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, the original representatives of the Rachel group, sojourned in Egypt. This tradition advocates of the Leah group are compelled to discount as a late invention.

(2) *To which tribe did Moses belong?* If Moses was the leader in the Exodus, it is probable that the tribe to which he belonged was settled in Egypt. On this point the traditions differ. According to E (Ex. 2 1) and P (Ex. 6 16-20), Moses belonged to the tribe of Levi. Corresponding to this P knows a clan of Levites called Mushi, "Mosaic" (Ex. 6 19), and Moses' sons Gershom and Eliezer are regarded as Levitical clans. Jud. 17 7 mentions a Levite from Bethlehem-Judah, and 18 30 says of him, "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites unto the day of the captivity of the land." The reference to the captivity shows, as Meyer and Luther admit, that this verse is a late addition to the narrative, still it is witness to a tradition that the Levites of Dan were descended from Moses. Meyer claims also the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33 8) where it is said, "Thy Urim and thy Thummim be for the man, thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou contendedst at the waters of Meribah." This Meyer thinks refers to Moses, and shows that he belonged to Levi and to Kadesh; but there

is nothing to prove this view. In all the other blessings the tribes are addressed, and it is probable that here the "godly one" is Levi rather than Moses.

On the other hand, J never calls Moses a Levite, and Luther (in Meyer's *Israeliten*, pp. 118—120) has collected a convincing body of evidence that J regarded Moses as an Ephraimite.

Between these conflicting traditions Meyer, Luther, Cornill, and Haupt decide in favor of the Levitical origin of Moses. According to Meyer, Levi, as it appears in Gen. 34 and Gen. 49, was originally a secular tribe that lived in the vicinity of Kadesh. It was only through its connection with Moses that it was transformed into a tribe of priests that devoted itself to the dissemination of the Mosaic religion. The view of J that Moses was an Ephraimite Meyer explains as a falsification of the tradition designed to commend the religion of the southern tribes to Ephraim. It may well be questioned whether this alteration of tradition is so likely as the transformation of Moses from an Ephraimite into a Levite. The powerful guild of the Levites would naturally wish to have the great lawgiver on its side, and might easily claim him, and name clans after him. We have a similar case in the transformation of Samuel from an Ephraimite (I Sam. 1 1) into a Levite (I Chr. 6 28).

(3) *Is Moses connected chiefly with Kadesh or with Sinai?* If tradition connects him with Kadesh, the probability is that he belonged to the Leah tribes; if with Sinai, the probability is that he belonged to the Rachel tribes. According to J (Ex. 2 15 f.), Moses fled from Egypt to the land of Midian (where Sinai was) and lived with the priest of Midian. This is followed by the revelation of Yahweh in the burning bush (Ex. 3 2). According to E (Ex. 3 1), Moses was keeping the flock of his father-in-law in Horeb when the divine revelation came to him. After the exodus both documents represent Moses as leading Israel to Sinai to make the covenant with Yahweh. This looks as if Moses were associated with the Sinai-Rachel group rather than with the Kadesh-Leah group.

Meyer, however, points out that Ex. 2 23, "the king of Egypt died," joins on naturally to Ex. 4 19, "and Yahweh said unto Moses in Midian, Go return unto Egypt," from which he infers

that the revelation of Yahweh to Moses in J (Ex. 3) did not occur at Sinai, but on the way from Midian to Egypt. The burning bush was a thorn-bush at Kadesh that glowed in the light of burning gas that issued from the earth. This view he attempts to back up by Deut. 33 16, "the good will of him that dwelt in a bush," which he connects with the reference to Kadesh in v. 8; but the indefinite expression "a bush" is surprising, and the statement that Yahweh "dwelt" in it has no parallel in Ex. 2, or elsewhere in the Old Testament. Wellhausen long since suggested (*Prolegomena*[3], p. 354) that we should read here *sînai*, "Sinai," instead of *sĕnē*, "bush." This correlates naturally with Deut. 33 2, where Yahweh comes from Sinai, his proper residence, to Kadesh. Apart from this passage the "bush" is mentioned only in Ex. 3 2-4. It plays no part whatever in later Old Testament tradition, and it may well be questioned whether Sinai is not the correct reading in Ex. 3 2-4, corresponding to Horeb in E.

Even if *sĕnē* be right, there is an indubitable connection between this name and Sinai. Meyer's theory that the bush was called this to express the dependent relation of the cult at Kadesh to that at Sinai, is most artificial. Furthermore the flame in the bush, as Haupt has very properly pointed out, suggests connection with the volcanic phenomena at Sinai. Kadesh did not lie in the volcanic belt, and we have no record of other volcanic phenomena there. The pillar of cloud also is part of the original J narrative (Ex. 14 19b). Meyer explains this as the flame from the bush at Kadesh, which was believed to accompany Israel, but it is far more naturally regarded as the column of smoke by day and fire by night that hung over the top of Sinai and guided Israel from afar.

Moses' father-in-law, according to J, is the priest of Midian (Ex. 2 16). This indicates Moses' residence at Sinai, for we know of no Midianites near Kadesh. Meyer's explanation that this tradition indicates merely the dependent relation of the cult at Kadesh to that at Sinai is extremely artificial.

Finally, if, as Meyer thinks, Moses was the tribal hero of the Levites, we should expect to find his grave at Kadesh; instead of which Miriam is buried at Kadesh (Num. 20 1b E), and

Moses is buried in Mount Pisgah, east of the Jordan, on the route taken by the Joseph tribes in their invasion of Canaan (Deut. 34 J, E, P). Tradition, accordingly, is unanimous that Moses is more closely related to Sinai than to Kadesh.

(4) *Was the Mosaic religion more closely connected with the Kadesh-Leah tribes or with the Sinai-Rachel tribes?* Meyer, Luther, Asmussen, and Haupt think that it was connected with the Leah tribes, and that the Rachel tribes were converted to Mosaism by the Levites after the time of David. Meyer holds that the northern tribes had originally a pre-Mosaic Yahweh-cult, Haupt denies that they worshiped Yahweh at all (*ZDMG.* 1909, pp. 507—516).

This view derives some support from the fact that Moses' father-in-law, according to J, was Hobab ben Reuel, the Kenite, or Midianite (Num. 10 29; Jud. 1 16), and that the Kenites settled with Judah in the south of the land (Jud. 1 16). It has long been recognized that the Kenites bear a peculiarly intimate relation to the religion of Yahweh, hence it is inferred that Moses must have belonged to the Leah group with which the Kenites were affiliated. In the tradition of J, however, the Kenites are associated, not with Kadesh, but with Midian and Sinai; and they stand as representatives, not of the Mosaic religion, but of a *pre-Mosaic* Yahwism. With this corresponds the fact that J regards the name Yahweh as in use from the beginning (Gen. 4 26). The Leah tribes, that were never in Egypt, had learned to worship Yahweh at Kadesh long before Moses (cf. Deut. 33 2 where Yahweh comes from Sinai to Kadesh).

E, on the other hand, represents the name Yahweh as first introduced in the time of Moses (Ex. 3 13-15); and consistently with this, avoids the use of this name in the pre-Mosaic period. This shows that the Rachel tribes made their first acquaintance with the god of Sinai at the time of the exodus. The worship of Yahweh, accordingly, was possessed by Judah and the Kenites before the exodus, but the distinctly Mosaic conception of Yahweh was first learned by the Joseph tribes in consequence of the exodus.

The following names compounded with Yahweh in the pre-

Davidic period are at least sufficient to show that Yahweh was not unknown to the Rachel tribes: Joshua, of the tribe of Ephraim; Joash, the father of Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh; Jotham, the son of Gideon; Abijah, the son of Samuel, of Ephraim; and Joel, the son of Samuel. Names compounded with Yahweh are rare in the northern tribes, as we should expect, if the name was first introduced by Moses; still they exist.

The Song of Deborah (Jud. 5) proves not only that Yahweh was the God of the Rachel tribes, but also that they connected him with Sinai. The word Sinai may be an interpolation in v. 5, still vv. 4-5 unquestionably refer to Sinai. Haupt (*ZATW.* 1909, p. 286) pronounces these verses an interpolation, and adds, "Zur Zeit Deboras war der Gott Israels nicht Yahwe." This view demands, the excision of Yahweh not merely in vv. 4-5, but also in vv. 2. 3. 9. 11. 13. 23. 31. Meyer feels this to be impossible, and therefore claims that the northern tribes had a pre-Mosaic worship of Yahweh that they had brought from Sinai. If, as we have just seen, the Rachel tribes were in Egypt, and if Moses brought them to Sinai, there is no reason to assume that Deborah's connection of Yahweh with Sinai dates from the pre-Mosaic period.

All the traditions connect the ark with Sinai. According to J (Ex. 33 2), Yahweh would not leave Sinai, but sent his angel, the ark, to be his visible representative (cf. Jud. 2 1. 5). The ark accompanied Israel on its march from Sinai (Num. 10 33. 35). Here and always the ark is called the "ark of Yahweh." In later times it was the possession of the tribe of Ephraim, and was kept at Shiloh (I Sam. 3 3 E; 4 3 J). This indicates clearly that Ephraim was at Sinai. The priesthood at Shiloh that had the custody of the ark claimed a forefather (Moses, or Aaron?) who had taken part in the exodus (I Sam. 2 27). One of the members of this priesthood bore the Egyptian name Phinehas (I Sam. 4 11), doubtless inherited from his forefather of the period of the exodus (Ex. 6 25).

Finally, attention should be called to the way in which Ps. 80 1. 2. 8 connects the exodus with the tribes of Joseph: "Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that sittest upon

the cherubim, shine forth. Before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, stir up thy might .... Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt: thou didst drive out the nations, and plantedst it."

4. *When was Israel in Egypt?*—I Ki. 6 1 states that the building of the Temple was begun in the fourth year of Solomon, 480 years after the going out from Egypt. Following the larger figures given for the kings of Judah, Ussher reached 1011 B.C. as the date of the building of the Temple, and adding 480, reached 1491 B.C. as the date of the exodus. Following the shorter chronology demanded by the reigns of the kings of Israel and the Assyrian data, we obtain 967 as the date of the Temple and 1447 as the date of the exodus. On the other hand, if we follow the chronology of the Book of Judges, we reach at least 1520 as the year of the exodus. This difference from the date of Kings can perhaps be removed by recognizing that the Minor Judges formed no part of the Deuteronomic Book of Judges, and that therefore the years of their rule are not to be counted in making up totals.

The 480 years of I Ki. 6 1 seems to come from the hand of the Deuteronomic editor of Kings, and it is doubtful whether it embodies any ancient tradition. The number itself is suspicious, being composed of 12×40. This seems to show that there was a tradition of twelve generations from the exodus to the Temple, and this is confirmed by the genealogies in Gen. 36 31-39 and I Chr. 6 4-9; but forty years is too large an estimate for a generation. The average of the kings of Judah and of the kings of Babylon during the first three dynasties is twenty years. Assuming twelve generations of twenty years each, we should obtain $967 + 240 = 1207$ as the date of the exodus.

Another method of computing the date is to reckon downward from Abram. In Gen. 14, a chapter of uncertain origin and doubtful historical value, Abram is made a contemporary of ʿAmraphel, who is commonly believed to be identical with Ḥammurabi, King of Babylon, who reigned 1958—1916 B.C. (Meyer). If we assume that Abram's migration (Gen. 12 4) was synchronous with the beginning of Ḥammurabi's reign, we obtain 1958 minus 25 (Gen. 21 5), minus 60 (Gen. 25 26), minus 130 (Gen. 47 9), minus 430 (Ex. 12 40) = 1313 as the date of the

exodus; or, if we follow the text of the LXX. in Ex. 12 40, which gives 430 years from Abram's coming into Canaan to the going out from Egypt, we get 1528 as the date of the exodus. These figures are all derived from P, and it is doubtful whether they have any historical value. In Gen. 15 13 the sojourn in Egypt is estimated at 400 years. In Gen. 15 16 E says that the Hebrews shall return from Egypt in the fourth generation. Similarly in Ex. 2 1 (E) Moses' father marries the own daughter of Levi, and in Ex. 1 6. 8 (J) the Pharaoh of the oppression lived in the next generation after Joseph. The older sources, accordingly, seem to have assumed a much shorter period for the sojourn in Egypt than is assumed by P. The genealogies of the different tribes allow from four to eight generations.

A new basis for the chronology has been found in recent times in Naville's identification of Pithom, the store-city that the Hebrews built for Pharaoh according to Ex. 1 11 (J). In 1883 in excavating the mound of Tell el-Maskhuta Naville found the name of the place Pi-Tum and the cartouche of Ramses II. This together with Ramses, the name of the other store-city built by the Hebrews, seems to indicate that Ramses II (1292—1225) was the Pharaoh of the oppression. The Pharaoh of the exodus was then one of his successors, either his son Merneptah (1225—1215), or a still later monarch.

It will be noted that the Biblical chronological data point in two directions. Part of them place the exodus in the eighteenth dynasty, and part in the nineteenth. It is an interesting question whether this difference has anything to do with the two groups in which, according to our older sources, the Hebrews entered Canaan.

II. The Extra-Biblical Sources.

a. *The classical writers.*—Manetho, as cited by Josephus (*Cont. Apionem,* i, 26. 27), assigned the exodus to the reign of a certain Amenophis. Since his father was Ramses, and his son Sethos, who was also called Ramses; it has generally been supposed that by Amenophis Manetho meant Merneptah. Others think that Amenophis IV was meant. The same view is found in Chaeremon of Naucratis and Lysimachus of Alexandria, who

also are quoted by Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i, 32. 34); and in Hecataeus of Abdera (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, frag. 13), who also depends on Manetho.

Josephus himself and Ptolemaeus Mendesius held that the exodus was to be identified with the expulsion of the Hyksos by Amosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty (1580—1557 B.C.), and this view was general among the Alexandrian Jews and the Alexandrian Church Fathers. It is doubtful whether any historical value attaches to these legends. It is noteworthy, however, that they point in the same directions as the Biblical data, namely, to an exodus under the eighteenth dynasty, or under the nineteenth.

b. *The evidence of archaeology.*—The facts in outline are as follows:

About 1780 Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos, a nomadic people from the north, who ruled for two centuries. One of the Hyksos Pharaohs bore the name *Jacob-her,* or possibly *Jacob-el* (Breasted, *Hist.* p. 220). The Hyksos were finally expelled by Ahmose I, the founder of the glorious eighteenth dynasty (1580 B.C.). Under his successors Palestine and Syria were conquered and made Egyptian provinces, and the Egyptian arms were carried far into Mesopotamia. Thutmose III (*c.* 1500 B.C.) in his list of conquered tribes mentions *Y(a)-ʿ-q(e)-b-'â-ra* and *Y(a)-ša-p-'(e)-ra.* There is general agreement that the first represents יעקב־אל, Jacob-el; and competent authorities, such as Groff, Meyer, Müller, Maspero, Sayce, Kittel and Prášek, hold that the second represents יוסף־אל, Joseph-el. Here apparently are the Hebrew tribes Jacob and Joseph in Canaan as early as 1500. Whether Simeon is to be found in *Sha-ma-na* (No. 35 in the list of Thutmose) is very doubtful.

In the fifteenth century the Aramaean migration began. The Amarna letters show that about 1400, during the reigns of the Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, Canaan was invaded by a people called the Ḫabiru (Ḫabiru is the nominative, Ḫabiri the oblique case; Knudtzon, p. 45). Sayce, Halévy, Müller and Obbink regard the name as a denominative from *ḫabar,* "bind," and think that it means only "allies." Sayce (*Exp. Times,* 1904, p. 282) holds that the Ḫabiru were Hittites;

Halévy (*J. Asiat.* 1891, p. 547), that they were Cassites. This view is precluded by the fact that in two cases the determinative *KI* for "land" is appended to the name (Knudtzon, p. 46; Böhl, p. 89), which shows that the Ḫabiru were a race. Eerdmans thinks that Ḫabiru = Ḫawiru = Ḥâru, or Canaan, as it was called by the Egyptians; but *b* never represents *w* in the Amarna letters, and the Ḫabiru are evidently invaders. Phonetically Ḫabiru may be Ḥeber, a clan of Asher (Gen. 46 17); or Ḥepher, a Midianite clan (Gen. 25 4); or Ḥēpher (I Ki. 4 10); or Ḥēber, Ḥbrî, "Hebrew."

So long as the Ḫabiru were named only in the letters from Jerusalem and it was doubtful whether they were to be identified with the people mentioned in the other letters under the ideographic designation *SA.GAZ*, it might be questioned which of these identifications was correct. Now, however, Winckler has shown (*MDOG.* No. 35, Dec. 1907, p. 25, note; cf. Böhl, p. 89) that in the recently discovered tablets of Boghazkiöi the terms "gods of the Ḫabiru" and gods of the *SA.GAZ* alternate. This identification shows that in the case of the Ḫabiru we are dealing with a great racial migration. The Ḫabiru, therefore, cannot be a minor clan of Asher or Midian, but can only be Hebrews (so Conder, Hommel, Zimmern, Winckler, Meyer, Knudtzon, Gemoll, Böhl, Weinheimer, Benzinger, Kittel, König, Guthe, Trampe, Haupt, Spiegelberg, Prášek, Erbt, Miketta, Lehmann-Haupt).

It must be remembered, however, that Hebrew is a wider term than Israelite. The Ḫabiru of the Amarna letters, though they may be Hebrews, are not all Israelites, for they conquer the Amorites in Lebanon, and attack the Phoenician cities, and their gods play an important part in the treaty of the Hittites with Mitanni.

On the other hand, Hebrews in Canaan are most likely Israelites, for we know no other Hebrews there; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that two centuries later Merneptah mentions Israel in the same region where in the Amarna letters we find the Ḫabiru (so Conder, Hommel, Meyer, Jastrow, Spiegelberg, Erbt, Miketta, Haynes, Knudtzon, Gemoll, Toffteen). Numerous efforts have been made to identify the conquests of

the Ḫabiru with the conquests narrated in Jos. and Jud., but they have not been successful. Conder thought that he found Adoniṣedeq, king of Jerusalem; Japhia, king of Gezer; and Jabin, king of Hazor, in the letters; but his readings have not been confirmed. The supposed mention of Judah also rests upon a misreading in the text of Winckler. Labaya can hardly equal Levi (Jastrow, p. 121), and Toffteen's identifications of Joshua, Ehud and Deborah are unconvincing. Milk-ili may be Malkiel, a clan of Asher, and Shamḫuna may be Simeon, but both are doubtful. It is a striking fact, however, that no letters come from cities that the older sources of Jos. and Jud. say expressly were captured by Israel, e. g., Jericho, Bethel, Gibeon, Shiloh and Hebron, but all come from cities that are expressly said not to have been captured. It is possible, therefore, that the Amarna letters contain the Canaanite version of Israel's conquest.

A word should be said in regard to the personal name Aḫi-yami, or Aḫi-yawi in the letter found at Taanach (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek,* p. 115). In Neo-Babylonian documents from Nippur final *Yah* or *Yahu* is represented by *Yama* = *Yawa*. This suggests that in the letter from Taanach we have a name compounded with Yahweh. If so, this favors the theory that the Ḫabiru in Canaan were Israelites.

As a result of the Ḫabiru invasion and internal disorders in Egypt, Canaan threw off Egyptian rule during the period from the death of Amenhotep IV (1358 B.C.) to the accession of Seti I of the nineteenth dynasty (1313 B.C.). The condition of Canaan at the beginning of Seti's reign is thus described in one of his inscriptions: "The vanquished Shasu (*Š'-sw*), they plan rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are gathered together, rising against the Asiatics of Kharu (*Ḫ'-rw*). They have taken to quarreling and cursing, each of them slaying his neighbor, and they disregard the laws of the palace" (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iii, p. 52). In this description it is impossible not to recognize the same state of affairs that is depicted in the Amarna letters. Shasu means Bedawin, and the ideogram *SA.GAZ* that is applied to the Ḫabiru is given in the syllabaries as denoting *ḫabatum*, "robber." If the Ḫabiru are Hebrews, the Shasu of Seti I must be Hebrews also.

In the inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II a land *'Isr* is mentioned, which Müller, Kittel, Prášek, Miketta and Meyer identify with Asher.

In the famous stele of Merneptah (1225—1215), discovered by Petrie at Thebes in 1896, occurs the first and only mention of Israel found as yet in the Egyptian records. The closing lines of the inscription are thus translated by Breasted (*Anc. Rec.* iii, p. 263): "Wasted is Tehenu (Libya), Kheta (the Hittites) are pacified, plundered is Pekanan (Canaan) with every evil, carried off is Askalon, seized upon is Gezer, Yenoam is made as a thing not existing, Israel is desolated, his seed is not; Palestine has become a widow for Egypt." There is no doubt as to the correctness of the reading "Israel." The proposal to read "Jezreel" is precluded by the determinative for "people," instead of for "city." Merneptah's campaign in Palestine is also well attested (Breasted, *o. c.*, pp. 258 ff.). Von Calice (*OLZ.* 1903, col. 224) has ingeniously suggested that the Fountain of Mîneptôaḥ (Jos. 15 9; 18 15) contains the name of this king and is another evidence of his conquest. From the order in which the captured towns are named in the inscription it seems as if the Israel that Merneptah encountered was settled in Central Palestine.

In a number of Egyptian texts a people called *'-pw-r'* are mentioned sometimes with the determinative of the Egyptian verb *'pr*, "work," sometimes with the determinative for "foreign people." Chabas first suggested that this was the phonetic equivalent of *'Ibri*, Hebrew. Brugsch, Wiedemann, Meyer and Müller oppose this view, claiming that the word means only "workmen"; but Heyes (pp. 146 ff.) has shown that while this translation applies to the word with the determinative for "work," it does not apply to it with the determinative for "foreign people"; and Burchardt (*Altkan. Fremdw.* II, No. 252) adds that the "syllabic" spelling indicates the adoption of a foreign name. Accordingly, there has been a tendency of late to return to the view that the *'-pw-r'* with foreign determinative are Hebrews (so Heyes, Hommel, König, Kittel, Eerdmans, Obbink, Driver). These people are mentioned under Thutmose III, Ramses II, Ramses III and Ramses IV as a foreign

population that executed forced labor for the Pharaohs on their public works (see Eerdmans, *A.T. Studien*, ii, pp. 52 ff.).

The archaeological facts, accordingly, point in the same two directions as the chronological indications in the Old Testament, namely, that there were Hebrews in Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty, and that Hebrews remained in Egypt as late as the nineteenth dynasty.

III. The Historical Results.

We have now gathered the pieces of our puzzle from the Old Testament and from archaeological sources, and the problem is, how to arrange them in a consistent picture.

There are three main types of theory: the first one emphasizes the data of the Bible and of archaeology that point to a conquest of Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty; the second emphasizes the data that point to a conquest under the nineteenth dynasty, and the third assumes a divided conquest, partly under the eighteenth, and partly under the nineteenth dynasty.

a. *The theory of a united conquest under the eighteenth dynasty.*—Urquhart and Hollingworth, following the chronology of the Book of Judges and of Acts 13 19 ff., reach the reigns of Thutmose II or III (1501—1447), as the date of the exodus. The Jacob-el and Joseph-el that Thutmose III found in Canaan they hold to be Israel.

Most of the advocates of an early conquest follow the 480 years of I Ki. 6 1, and assume that the exodus occurred under Amenhotep II (1448—1420), or one of his immediate successors. This is the view of Hommel, Orr, Haynes, Lieblein, Klostermann, König, Köhler, Conder, Vogel, Obbink, Miketta, Böhl. On this theory the identity of Israel with Jacob-el and Joseph-el in Thutmose III has to be denied, but Israel is equated with the Ḫabiru, the Shasu, Asher and Israel in the Amarna letters and the Egyptian inscriptions.

The chief difficulty with this hypothesis is that it is compelled to deny the testimony of Pithom and Ramses that Israel was still in Egypt as late as the reign of Ramses II. These names in Ex. 1 11 are pronounced an erroneous gloss: but Ramses is known to J also in Ex. 12 37, and it is hard to see

how a late glossator could have gained access to the information that the obscure store-city of Pithom was built at the same time as a city named after one of the Ramesids.

Moreover, the identification of the Pharaoh of the oppression with Ramses II fits well with Egyptian history. Ex. 2 23 says that the Pharaoh of the oppression lived long. Ramses II reigned 67 years. Throughout the eighteenth dynasty there was no fear of Semites in Egypt, for Canaan stood under Egyptian rule. Under the nineteenth dynasty, however, the Egyptian power in Palestine began to break up. Ramses II was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the king of the Hittites for mutual defense. At this time, when Egypt's foreign possessions were menaced by other Semites, the presence of the Hebrews in Egypt might be felt to be dangerous, and repressive measures might be adopted. Ramses II is known to have been a great builder, and multitudes of Semitic slaves were employed in his works. Under his successor Merneptah the very existence of Egypt was threatened by an invasion of Libyans and Sea-Peoples, and this gave a favorable opportunity for the exodus of the Hebrews. With this accords the fact that the southward movement of the Amorites under pressure of the Hittites is first recorded by Ramses III, and that Israel found Amorite kingdoms east of the Jordan at the time of its advance upon Canaan. It is not clear, therefore, that Pithom and Ramses in Ex. 1 11 are an erroneous gloss.

This theory is also compelled to deny that the '*-pw-r*' are Hebrews, but this denial is far from certain.

Still another formidable difficulty is that Egyptian rule in Canaan continued throughout the eighteenth dynasty, and under the first kings of the nineteenth dynasty. If Israel was settled in Canaan as early as the fifteenth century, it is surprising that no traditions of Egyptian rule in that country have survived in the Old Testament. The only Egyptian oppression that Israel remembered was the one in Egypt itself. The explanation of Haynes, that the Egyptians carried on their wars with the use of mercenaries, so that the foes of the Book of Judges were really Egyptian hirelings, is not true to the facts of Egyptian history. The attempt of Hollingworth to prove that the Book

of Judges shows knowledge of Egyptian intervention in Canaan cannot be pronounced successful.

b. *The theory of a united conquest under the nineteenth dynasty.*—Influenced by the considerations that have just been enumerated, another group of critics place the exodus under Merneptah, or one of his successors, and date the conquest somewhere about 1200. To this group belong Wellhausen, Guthe, Kautzsch, G. A. Smith, Cornill, Driver, Breasted, Ball, Fotheringham, Duncan, Hervey, McNeile, Montet, McCurdy, Sayce, Price, Wade, Oettli, Ottley, Lehmann-Haupt. Some of these critics hold that only part of Israel was in Egypt; but all think that the conquests by the Hebrew tribes were contemporaneous, or nearly so.

This theory is compelled to throw overboard the 480 years from the exodus to the Temple. Only Beecher saves it by dating Ramses II 1550 B.C., which, of course, is impossible. This theory is compelled also to get rid of Jacob-el, Joseph-el, the Ḫabiru, Shasu, Asher, and Israel in Merneptah as witnesses for an early conquest. This is accomplished in two ways:—

1. *The denial that Israel is found in Canaan before 1200.*—Jacob-el and Joseph-el in Thutmose III, it is said, have nothing to do with Israel. This is probably correct. As we saw above, Jacob and Joseph are apparently Canaanite names that were adopted by Israel after the conquest (so Guthe, Schiele, Meyer, Peters).

The denial that the Ḫabiru have anything to do with Israel is more difficult. When we meet the Ḫabiru about 1400, the Shasu and Asher about 1300, and Israel in Merneptah's inscription about 1220, it is hard to believe that there is no connection between them. Arguments may be brought against each of them individually, but these do not recognize the cumulative force of the combination. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that in the Ḫabiru migration we see the first efforts of the Hebrew tribes to gain a foothold in Canaan.

In the case of the Merneptah inscription the effort is made to show that the Israel there mentioned was settled in Egypt (Naville, Prášek, Hummelauer, Price, Fotheringham), or in the desert to the south of Canaan (Petrie, Lehmann-Haupt), but a

fair interpretation of the text does not warrant either of these opinions. The connection of Israel with Ascalon, Gezer, Yenoam and Palestine in the inscription indicates that Israel was settled in central Canaan. Schiele and Stade (*Bib. Theol.* p. 58) escape the difficulty by asserting that Israel was a Canaanite name that was not adopted by the Hebrews until after the Conquest. For this there is no proof.

2. *The identification of the early Hebrews with the Patriarchs.*—Recognizing the difficulty of explaining away the traces of Hebrews in Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty, several critics have suggested that these early Hebrews were the Patriarchs. On this theory Jacob-el, the Ḫabiru, Shasu, Asher, and Israel in Merneptah correspond with the Book of Genesis rather than with the Books of Joshua and Judges (so Kittel, Hommel, Prášek, Cornill, Burney, Driver, Haynes).

The chief objection to this view, as we saw above, is that the Book of Genesis cannot be shown to refer to an earlier period than the Books of Jos. and Jud. A further objection is, that this theory assumes that the Patriarchs were in Canaan at a time when, according to the Old Testament chronology, they were in bondage in Egypt. This difficulty is met with the assumption that only parts of the Patriarchal families went down to Egypt, while the other parts remained in Canaan; but, as we saw before, such a splitting of tribes is unnatural; we find no trace of the half-tribes in Canaan at the time of the conquest; and the only division of Israel that is known to Old Testament tradition is between Leah tribes and Rachel tribes.

In order to escape this difficulty Eerdmans assumes that the descent into Egypt did not occur until after Merneptah's mention of Israel. The Israel encountered by him was the Israel of Genesis, not that of Joshua. The Syrian usurper at the end of the nineteenth dynasty was Joseph. The exodus did not occur until the end of the twentieth dynasty, about 1100 B.C. With Israel there went out of Egypt the '*-pw-r*', Hebrews, the "mixed multitude" of Ex. 12 38; hence the double tradition of the length of the stay in Egypt.

This theory is open to the same objection as the one just mentioned, that there is no satisfactory evidence of a Patri-

archal period of Hebrew history. It is compelled also to reject the testimony of Pithom and Ramses that Ramses II was the Pharaoh of the oppression. It reduces the period of the stay in Egypt to one hundred years, and it leaves only one hundred years for the period of the Judges. The non-mention of Philistines in the early part of the Book of Judges shows that the conquest cannot be placed as late as 1100, since the Philistine settlement in Canaan began in the reign of Ramses III (1198—1167 B.C.).

c. *The theory of a divided conquest.*—Since it is impossible to hold that all Israel entered Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty, or all Israel under the nineteenth dynasty, it seems necessary to think that part of the tribes effected a settlement under the eighteenth dynasty, and part later, under the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty. This theory assumes a variety of forms.

1. *The theory of Gemoll.*—Gemoll holds that the Hexateuchal traditions are of mixed origin, partly Canaanite and partly Hebrew. Only a few of the tribes of later Israel were of pure Hebrew stock, the others were Canaanites and Amorites. The Kenites, Dan, Simeon, and Levi belonged to the Hyksos population that settled in Canaan after their expulsion from Egypt. They were identical with the Ḫarri, or Aryans, of the Boghazkiöi tablets. Their god was Yahweh, who is identical with the Sanskrit fire-god Yama. The first genuine Hebrew tribes to enter Canaan were Ephraim and Manasseh, who came about 1500. They were followed about 1400 by the Zilpah tribes, who are identical with the Ḫabiru. Judah belonged to the Amorite wave of migration that entered Canaan about 1200.

This theory rests upon a fantastic combination of place-names and personal names, and is intrinsically improbable. That these heterogeneous elements, Hyksos, Hebrew and Amorite should have been fused so successfully by the time of David as to regard themselves as descended from a common ancestor; and that an Aryan god should have been adopted by Semites, and served with a purely Semitic ritual, transcends all probability.

2. *Toffteen's theory of two exodi.*—According to this the first exodus was identical with the invasion of Canaan by the Ḫabiru about 1400 B.C.; the second exodus occurred 1144 B.C. This second exodus included only Reuben, Simeon and Levi. Eli, the priest of Shiloh, and Eliezer, the son of Aaron were the same person. The two lines of priests that we find in the time of David were the descendents of the high priests of the two exodi.

This theory depends upon the assumption that the P document was written in the time of Samuel, and is just as trustworthy as J and E. Its divergences from JE are explained as due to the fact that it narrates a different exodus. Modern scholarship does not agree with Toffteen's ideas of the antiquity of P, and therefore is not likely to accept the theory that there were two exodi, that were parallel in all their main features, and that were both led by a prophet called Moses.

3. *The theory of Weinheimer.*—The theory of Weinheimer, that the Hebrews were in Egypt, but not Israel; and the kindred theory of Spiegelberg that Jacob was in Egypt, but not Israel, so that the conquest by Israel may have been earlier than the conquest by the Hebrews or by Jacob; we have already considered in connection with the sojourn in Egypt and found unsatisfactory. If the Hebrew tribes were divided in their conquest of Canaan, it can only have been along the line indicated by all the Old Testament documents, that between the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes.

4. *The theory that the Rachel tribes settled first in Canaan.*—Those critics who hold that only the Leah tribes were in Egypt are obliged in consistency to think that the Rachel tribes were first settled in Canaan. The Pharaoh of the oppression was almost certainly Ramses II, and the exodus did not occur until the reign of Merneptah, or one of his successors; if Hebrews are found in Canaan before this time, they must have belonged to the tribes that were not in Egypt. Accordingly, Meyer, Luther, Schiele, and Haupt claim that the Rachel tribes were settled in Canaan long before the Leah tribes, and that they are to be identified with the Ḫabiru, Shasu, and Israel of Merneptah. The only support for this view, apart from theories

of the sojourn in Egypt, lies in Merneptah's use of the name "Israel." In later times this name was applied to the northern tribes in distinction from Judah, and from this it is inferred that Merneptah must have found the Rachel tribes in Canaan rather than the Leah tribes. The name "Israel" was broad enough, however, to include the northern Leah tribes, and it has not yet been proved that in early times it was not applied to the other Leah tribes also.

5. *The theory that the Leah tribes settled first in Canaan.*— Those critics who think that the weight of evidence is in favor of a sojourn of the Rachel tribes in Egypt hold that the Leah tribes made the first settlements in Canaan. In support of this opinion several arguments may be urged:—

(1) Our oldest narrative of the conquest (Jud. 1 2) declares expressly that the Leah tribes Judah and Simeon were the first to invade Canaan. Advocates of the Rachel-first theory are obliged to pronounce this a late invention designed to glorify Judah.

(2) Gen. 34 places the attack of Simeon and Levi on Shechem immediately after the arrival of Israel in Canaan.

(3) The genealogies of Genesis regard the sons of Leah as the firstborn of Israel. This can only mean that these tribes were settled first.

(4) The geographical location of the Leah tribes in two divisions, separated by the Rachel tribes, indicates most naturally a later intrusion of the Rachel tribes into Canaan.

(5) The episode of the attack of Simeon and Levi on Shechem (Gen. 34) would have been impossible after the district of Shechem had been occupied by the Rachel tribes. On the other hand, the attack on Shechem and the subsequent rising of the Canaanites against Simeon and Levi that resulted in their scattering in Israel (Gen. 34 30; 49 7) explains why the Leah tribes were split into two sections, and why the Rachel tribes were able later to gain a foothold in this region.

(6) Asher, as we have seen, is mentioned in the inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II, Gad is spoken of in the Mesha Inscription (line 10) as the aboriginal inhabitant of the region east of the Jordan, but Asher and Gad belong to Zilpah, the

maid of Leah (Gen. 30 9-13), which indicates that the Leah tribes settled among the Asherites and Gadites before the Rachel tribes.

(7) Leah means "cow" and Rachel means "sheep." The people that breed the cow are those that have abandoned the nomadic life and have become Fellâhîn. The people that still breed the sheep are those that stand nearest to the nomadic life of the desert. The division of Israel into these two main groups suggests that the Leah tribes were the first to settle down. Haupt, who holds that the Rachel tribes settled first, is compelled to assume that the names of the mothers have been exchanged by tradition. Leah was really the mother of the Joseph tribes, and Rachel the mother of Reuben, Simeon and Levi. Rachel was represented as the mother of Joseph and Benjamin to further the political ambitions of the dynasty of David (*ZATW.* 1909, pp. 284 f.). Against this hypothesis is the fact that Levi and Leah are etymologically connected, so that we cannot assign Levi to any other than the Leah group.

For these reasons it seems probable that the Leah tribes were the first to settle in Canaan. Taking all the data into consideration, one might formulate tentatively some such hypothesis as this:—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, the older Leah tribes of the genealogies, were identical with the Ḫabiru migration. Gad and Asher, the children of Leah's handmaid Zilpah, were Canaanites, or other alien clans, that amalgamated with the Leah tribes. The younger Leah tribes, Issachar and Zebulon, were a later wave of the Ḫabiru migration, or an offshoot from the older Leah tribes. The Rachel tribes came out of Egypt under the leadership of Moses and Joshua, and about 1200 B.C. forced their way into Canaan between the two divisions of the Leah tribes. Dan and Naphtali, the children of Rachel's handmaid Bilhah, were Canaanites, or other alien clans, that were annexed by the Rachel tribes.

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The Mosaic Olive Press at Moresheth-Gath

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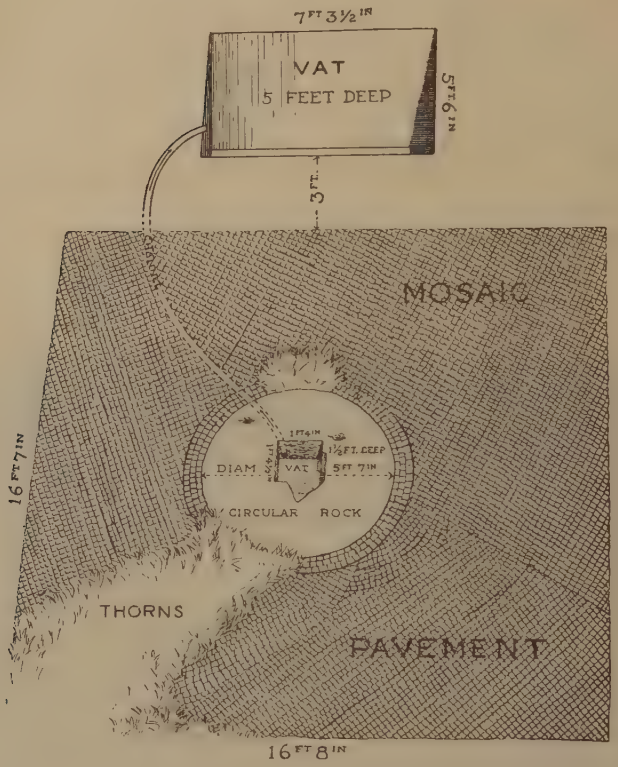
ON our last trip to Palestine in 1907 we visited Beit Jibrin and the rock caverns of Tell Sandahannah and Khurbet Mer'ash nearby; and, almost by accident, came upon an ancient olive press, with vats and mosaic floor; by far the most elaborate one we ever saw. It happened thus: after having examined the ruins, wells and *mezbeles* of the modern village of Beit Jibrin, we walked one mile south to the ruined church of St. Anne, visiting the painted tombs of Marissa and studying the inscriptions; then crossing over the knoll to the north-west we came up to a lime-kiln situated about three fourths of a mile south-west of the village. According to Baedeker we were now in the vicinity of Khurbet Mer'ash which by some is identified with Moresheth-Gath—the birth place of the prophet Micah (Mic. 1 14). Recalling the last portion of the compound name, *gath* and its significance "wine press," we enquired of our local guide if there were no wine presses in the vicinity, whereupon he replied, with more than ordinary willingness and self-confidence, "Yes, sir, right over that wall there." We followed him a few paces, climbed over a low fence which enclosed a number of olive trees, and to our great surprise and delight, there before us was a large and well defined wine press, or more probably an olive press, a plan and photograph of which accompany this brief sketch.

So far as we have been able to discover, no one of the many visitors to Beit Jibrin, or of the excavators of Marissa or Tell Sandahannah, has taken the pains to describe it; indeed, so far as the writer knows, it has never been observed. Neither Dr. F. J. Bliss nor Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister in their monograph entitled "Excavations in Palestine," 1902; nor Drs. Peters

and Thiersch in their "Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa," 1905, take any notice of it. We can hardly assume that any of these gentlemen ever had their attention called to it or they would certainly have made some allusion to it; for it bears the evident marks of antiquity, and among all the olive or wine presses discovered it certainly ranks as one of the most elaborate.

Briefly described it consists of two main parts: (1) *A Receiving Vat*, 7 ft. 3 1—2 in. long by 5 ft. 6 in. broad, and 5 ft. deep,

cut in the rock and bearing marks of having been in use for generations. (2) *A Mosaic Platform*, 16 ft. 8 in. long by 16 ft. 7 in. broad, the floor being paved with smooth white tesserae, and for the most part still in a fair state of preservation. In the center of this extensive mosaic pavement there is a large circular rock, 5 ft. 7 in. in diameter, in which there is a rectangular cutting 1 ft. 4 1—2 in. long by 1 ft. 4 in. broad, and 1 ft. 6 in. deep, the wall of one end having fallen away in part. This cavity was doubtless used as a Press Vat. For,



from it the juice expressed was evidently conducted by means of a small channel cut through the rock to the Receiving Vat which is on a slightly lower level. The distance from the one vat to the other was approximately 12 feet; that between the mosaic platform and the Receiving Vat being exactly 3.

At first sight I supposed we were looking upon an ancient wine press, but, on maturer reflection because of the olive groves which surround Beit Jibrin and which still grow closely contiguous to the press itself, I have concluded that its primary use was more probably for expressing olive oil.

The Beezebul Sections

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IT is the purpose of the present paper to discuss the passage Mt. 12 25-32, Mk. 3 23-30, Lk. 11 17-23, 12 10, with a view to determining the channels that lead back from the versions in the present Gospels to the first origin of the sayings, and to give a survey of recent scholarly opinion. The following authorities will be referred to:—

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[1] Weiss's results are collected on p. 36 of this work and to this page references are for the most part restricted in the present paper. The details are discussed at greater length in *Die Quellen des Lucas-Evangeliums* (Stuttgart, 1907) and in Vol. I of *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, Pt. 1, *Mt.*, ed. 10, 1910, Pt. 2, *Mk.-Lk.*, ed. 9, 1901 (Göttingen).

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Wellhausen, J., *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien.* Ed. 2, Berlin, 1911. *Das Evangelium Matthaei.* Do., 1904, —*Marci*, Ed. 2, 1909, —*Lucae*, 1904.

In Mk. 3 23-27, Lk. 11 17-23, Mt. 12 25-30 the relations are exhibited with tolerable clearness in the following table, which gives the total number of words in each vs (or part of a vs) and the number of these words shared by two or more accounts:—

Verses			Total Words			Common Words			
Mk.	Lk.	Mt.	Mk.	Lk.	Mt.	Mk.-Lk.	Mk.-Mt.	Lk.-Mt.	Mk.-Lk.-Mt.
23			12						
	17*a*	25*a*		8	7			5	
24—25	17*b*	25*b*	24	11	16	5	9	6	4
26	18	26	15	21	16	8	8	11	7
	19	27		20	20			19	
	20	28		16	17			15	
27	21—22	29	26	34	27	5	23	4	4
	23	30		15	15			15	
Total			77	125	118	18	40	75	15
Marcan			77	66	59	18	40	21	15
Non-Marcan				59	59			54	

(The above count is based on Tischendorff's text and in it μερίζω and διαμερίζω have been counted as a single word.)

It is a familiar fact in Synoptic criticism,—obvious enough from the data of this table,—that in Mt. and Lk. two sources, —Mk. and Q,—have been combined. Evidently, too, in Mt. this combination accounts for almost the whole section, for in the Marcan parts of Mt. only 13 words (less than 23 % of all) are not in the parallels, while the non-Marcan section is virtually identical with Lk. On the other hand, Lk. and Mk. are practically independent and only at the beginning of Mk. 26 and Lk. 18 do they agree in more than isolated words. In particular, Lk. 18*b* and 21—22 are quite different from any-

[2] A few references marked *Ev.* are to *Das älteste Evangelium*, Göttingen, 1904.

thing in Mk.'s immediate context, although Lk. 18*b* has some similarity to Mk. 30.

Taking up the passages in detail, Mt.'s modifications of Mk. are of the slightest, apart from obvious abbreviations[3] of Mk.'s somewhat verbose style. In 25*b* κατά is better than ἐπί after μερίζεσθαι and in 25*c* the addition of "city"[4] makes a triad of illustrations. In 26 the protasis has been so worded (with the aid of Mk. 23*b*) as to reply directly to the charge of the Pharisees. And at the beginning of 29 Mk.'s harsh ἀλλ' οὐ —οὐδείς has been avoided by conforming the wording to that of the parallel question in 26*b*. Evidently there is no critical reason to go beyond Mk. for Mt.'s source here.

In the non-Marcan section the problem is to recover the original wording of Q by comparing Mt. with Lk. Mt. in 25*a* has ἐνθυμήσεις, while Lk. 17 has διανοήματα. B. Weiss (p. 36) and Jülicher (p. 219) think that Lk. has accredited Christ with a more supernatural knowledge. But this is not necessary, Lk. never uses this word elsewhere (indeed, it is unique in the NT.), while Mt.'s phrase is a simple duplicate of 9 4. Hence Lk. seems the more original. Mt. 28 has πνεύματι, Lk. 20 has δακτύλῳ. Lk. again is probably more original, for he is fond of references to the Spirit (18 times against 12 for Mt. and 6 for Mk.) and so would not be likely to omit the word, while Mt. needs it here to prepare for vv. 31—32. And contrast Lk. 10 21 with Mt. 11 25 and Lk. 11 13 with Mt. 7 11.[5] Of minor matters, Lk.'s love for compounds is undoubtedly responsible for διαμερισθεῖσα in 17 as against the simple verb in Mt. 25 while Mt.'s καί in 27 and his simple καί in 26 are preferable to Lk.s δέ and δὲ καί (an intensely common Lucan com-

[3] Loisy (p. 703) suggests that Mt. may have thought that the ἐν παραβολαῖς ought not to have been used before the parable chapter.

[4] This addition of "city" probably gives "house" a wrong sense (Jül., p. 221, Loisy, p. 704).

[5] Incidentally, δακτύλῳ here is very Hebraistic (e. g., Ex. 8 15,—cf. Bacon, p. 36) and, as Wellh. (*Mk.*, p. 27) points out, is an exact synonym of πνεύματι,—something that the Gentile Lk. could scarcely have felt. Yet Harnack (p. 20, cf. Holtzm., p. 366) cites Lk. 1 51. 66. 73 as examples of Lk.'s fondness for anthropomorphisms. But they are hardly relevant and, besides, they probably are not due to Lk. but to some source (B. Weiss, p. 36).

bination) in 19 and 18 respectively. (The discussion of the force of the differences in Jülicher, p. 222, is perhaps over-refined.) The absence of ἐγώ (Mt. 28) from Lk. 20 is largely a textual question but if the word is not read in Lk.'s text, its omission by Lk. is harder than its addition by Mt. And, similarly, the addition of οὖν in Mt. 26 is easier than its omission by Lk. in 18.[6]

Turning now to Lk.'s version, it is characterized by very few specifically Lucan touches. For οἶκος (18) as opposed to οἰκία (Mt.-Mk.) Lk. has an undoubted fondness (34:25 Ev., 25:12 Acts, as contrasted with 9:25 for Mt. and 12:19 for Mk.,—if metaphorical uses be disregarded these figures become 29:24, 17:12, 8:25, 12:18). ἐπέρχομαι in 22 is a Lucan word (Lk. 1 35, 21 26, Acts 1 8, 8 24, 13 40, 14 19, not Mk. or Mt.). λέγω followed by the infinitive in 18*b* is a construction for which there is no certain evidence in Q but which is found Lk. 20 41 (introduced into Mk. 12 35), 23 2, 24 23, besides the cases in 9 18. 20, 20 27 which are from Mk. (8 27. 29, 20 27) and eight times in Acts. Otherwise there is no evidence for Lucan style, as τὰ ὑπάρχοντα (21) is a Q word (Lk. 12 44, Mt. 24 47), and in Acts occurs only 4 32 (elsewhere in Lk. 8 3, 12 15, 14 33, 16 1, and in Mt. 19 21, 25 14). On the other hand, for the Greek of 21—22 the LXX of Is. 49 25 (ἐάν τις αἰχμαλωτεύσῃ γίγαντα, λήμψεται σκῦλα· λαμβάνων δὲ παρὰ ἰσχύοντος σωθήσεται) and Is. 53 12 (καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκῦλα) offers obvious parallels, accounting for σκῦλα (here only in the NT.) and for (δια)μερίζεσθαι, elsewhere in the Gospels only Mk. 6 41, Lk. 12 13. Finally, it may be noted that καθοπλίζεσθαι is found here only in the NT. and πανοπλία only here and Eph. 6 11. 13.

[6] Lk. 18*b* is an isolated statement not paralleled in either Mt. or Mk. Loisy (p. 704, Holtzm., p. 365) thinks it a reminiscence of Mk. 3 30 but it would be difficult to parallel such a misplaced and awkward reminiscence of Mk. in Lk. Jül. (p. 222) thinks that it is meant to clinch the argument of 18*a* but this hardly seems possible. Rather, it reads like an attempt to connect 18*a* and 19, helping the transition from the general truth to the more personal matter (perhaps helping also the transition from "Satan" to "Beezebul"). Its omission by Mt. is easier than its addition by Lk. and in Q it may well have arisen to join two sayings that belong to different occasions.

Lastly, the account of Mk. This is typically Marcan in style, with its repetition of the same words and phrases, the superfluous introduction question in 23*b*, the marring of the formal parallelism by ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει in 26, and the double negative in 27. Mk.'s motive in the use of some of these phrases may perhaps be divined. So in 23*a* the ἐν παραβολαῖς seems to prepare for ch. 4 (Nicol., p. 236),[7] 23*b* evidently is formed out of what follows (Jül., p. 222, Klost., p. 31, Nicol., p. 236), possibly (in part) to help the change from Beezebul in 22 to Satan in 26; and the ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει is to emphasize Christ's victory (Jül., p. 223, Nicol., p. 236,—with a particularly interesting note on p. 237). The removal of such phrases doubtless brings the narrative nearer to the source used by Mk. but, naturally, tells nothing as to the character (written or oral) of this source (or *sources*).

Comparing now Lk. and Mk. The only connected words in common are those at the beginning of Lk. 18 and Mk. 26 but even among these (δι)εμερίσθη is the only one at all characteristic and this may be due in both cases to a reminiscence of Is. 53 12. Still a reminiscence of Mk. by Lk. is very possible, although the wide variation of the accounts and the disuse of Mk. by Lk. after 9 50 make it very unlikely that Lk. had Mk. open in front of him here.[8] In any case, however, a reverse dependence of Mk. on Lk.'s Greek source cannot be supported by this slight contact in wording.

The chief difference between Lk. 17*b* and Mk. 24—25 is in the use of "house." In Mk. the "house" is a *family* ("the smallest organism," Jül., p. 221, cf. J. Weiss, p. 94, Klost., p. 31,—"a political domain", Wellh., *Mk.*, p. 26), which, like a kingdom, falls if divided against itself. In Lk., however, the "house" is a *building* and the imagery of one building toppling over on the next illustrates the completeness of the desolation of the divided kingdom,—at least, this is the literal meaning of the Greek. One may question, however, if Lk. meant it to

[7] Loisy, however, thinks (p. 703) that the phrase was carried over from some earlier source.

[8] Hence Loisy's suggestion (p. 703),—that Lk. omitted ἐν παραβολαῖς as not justified by what follows,—is needless.

be so understood and, indeed, he may have changed οἰκία into οἶκος as a protection against such an interpretation. But at all events it cannot be original (Jül., p. 222, Loisy, p. 704, —contra B. Weiss, p. 36), for the ruined houses are quite out of the picture. But is this variation due to Lk. or to the author of Q? The latter is distinctly the more probable, for an abbreviation that so perverts the sense would be quite contrary to Lk.'s usual method of procedure. Furthermore, it may be questioned whether even the author of Q meant the text to have the sense that the Greek now requires and it is more likely that, with the first illustration in mind, he abbreviated the second without noticing that he had changed the meaning.

In 21—22 Lk. contains a true parable told in the narrative form, while in Mk. 27 the corresponding matter is stated in an argumentative negation that makes it conform to the context. Moreover, Mk. lays the stress on the spoiling of the goods, while the point in Lk. is the superior power to enter and conquer (J. Weiss, *Ev.*, p. 168).[9] Hence the preference is to be given to Lk.'s version (B. Weiss, p. 36, J. Weiss, p. 432, Jül., p. 227, Loisy, p. 707, Nicol., p. 237, —contra Holtz., p. 366). To detect evidence of redaction in Lk.'s version taken by itself is a delicate matter, especially, as has been said, as the two verses present no linguistic evidence of Lk.'s hand. Jül., however (p. 229, followed by Loisy, p. 708, Nicol., p. 237), thinks that somewhere there has been enlargement from an original form, which stated simply something like "When a strong man is seen bound and plundered, ye know that a stronger than he has come upon him,"—all the other details being unnecessary. This, of course, hangs together with Jül.'s "minimum" theory of the parables. But in the present case (at least) this theory seems to be pressed too rigorously, for the parable as it stands is certainly not over-long and the "unnecessary" details add considerably to the graphic effect.

[9] Jül. (p. 221—222) notes that Q contains a general rule applied to a particular case rather than a true parable,—the πᾶσα in Lk. 17 (Mt. 25) is out of true parable style,—while Mk. contains two true parables. But this involves too strict a limitation of the possibilities of the parable form. On the other hand, Jül. (p. 221) considers the ἐρημοῦται of Q preferable to the οὐ δύναται στῆναι of Mk.

Nor is it at all clear that these details have allegorical significance, as, for instance that the armor signifies the demons in which Satan trusted (so Jül., p. 228, apparently emphasizing some connection between *πανοπλία* and *πάντα δαιμόνια*,—cf. Loisy, p. 708) or that distributing the booty meant only returning the bodies of the exorcised into the control of their former owners.[10] Certainly when Loisy (p. 708) writes that Lk. understood the whole passage allegorically he assumes more than the text warrants and in any case this would not prove that the allegory was originally intended. On the other hand the use of the LXX of Is. 53 12 probably points to redaction in the Greek (Loisy, p. 708, refers this specifically to Lk. but the author of Q is quite as likely), but it is at least not impossible that a use of Is. in the Aramaic was recognized and rendered into Greek with the phraseology of the Greek version. Hence there seems to be no critical necessity for going back of the narrative about as it stands in Lk.

The development of Mk.'s account from something like Lk.'s account presents no difficulties. This, however, is a different matter from supposing a direct literary relation that would make Mk.'s account arise from a redaction of Q (so B. Weiss, p. 36 and *Mk. ad loc.*, J. Weiss, *Ev.*, pp. 168—169, Bacon, pp. 38—39, Nicol., p. 235). The two versions undoubtedly do go back to some common original but there is nothing to show that the Mk. and Lk. traditions touched after leaving that original,—in especial there is nothing to show that they have any relation in their Greek forms. The further (tentative) hypothesis of J. Weiss that Mk. is a combination of Q with Petrine Memoirs (*Ev.*, p. 169) is quite incapable of demonstration (cf. Nicol., p. 235).

That the eventual origin of these sayings should be traced back to Jesus seems not to be questioned. Wellh. alone (Mk., p. 26) is suspicious of Mk. 27, on account of its "loose connection" and its emphasis on a positive fact while the context is concerned only with a negation. But this is too refined and at most affects only the place of the saying.

[10] B. Weiss (*Mt.*, *ad loc.*) finds in the contrast a reference to the Temptation. This is even more artificial.

As to the non-Marcan sections, the question is whether their present context is correct. That of Lk. 23 (Mt. 30) is almost certainly wrong, for it deals with impossibility of neutrality although the adversaries in the present context *desired* to be known as hostile (Jül., p. 233, Klost., p. 243, Loisy, p. 708).[11] Nor is the position of Lk. 19—20 (Mt. 27—28) wholly satisfactory, for 18, 21, 22 form a single argument, while 19—20 deal with the subject from a different angle. Moreover, after 20 the "stronger one" of 22 should be the Kingdom of God,—i. e., there is an awkward change of subject. And again 18*b* is very clumsy and reads like an attempt to soften a transition.[12] Such arguments are, of course, not conclusive but they establish a certain degree of probability.[13] Loisy (p. 707,—cf. Montef., II, pp. 621—622) argues further that 19 and 20[14] do not belong together, as in one case Christ's exorcisms are paralleled with those of the Jews while in the other their uniqueness is insisted on,—as the two verses stand at present the Jewish exorcisms could be taken as proofs of the advent of the Kingdom (similarly Jül., p. 232, Wellh., *Mt.*, p. 62). But such a complete equation of the Jews' exorcisms with Christ's was scarcely to be apprehended (Klost., p. 243; cf. Holtzm., p. 68).[15]

[11] Wellh. (*Mt.*, p. 62) notes, moreover, that the ἐμοῦ is too restricted to suit the universal principle of the preceding verse.

[12] Holtzm. (p. 243,—cf. Loisy, p. 706, Nicol., p. 235) argues further that Mt. 27—28 disjoin πῶς in 26 and ἢ πῶς in 29. This is not relevant, however, for in 29 Mt. has returned to *Mk.* On the other hand, the change in Q from "Satan" to "Beezebul" may not be without significance.

[13] Bacon (pp. 43. 39, cf. Holtzm., p. 128) finds that Mk. has produced a more advanced Christology by dropping the references to the Spirit in Q, so that the miracles are referred to Christ's personal power. If, however, Q has introduced these references from another context, Bacon's comment loses relevancy.

[14] Mt. 28 is one of the few places in Mt. where βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (not —τῶν οὐρανῶν) is used. Loisy, p. 707, thinks that a special source is indicated. But this is quite needless, the form of the phrase is due to πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ immediately preceding.

[15] B. Weiss (*Mt.*, *ad loc.*) argues for an entirely different interpretation that makes the comparison with "your sons" irony. This relieves the difficulty discussed above but is not very generally accepted. For a still different interpretation cf. Zahn (*Mt.*, *ad loc.*).

As to the historical origin of these non-Marcan verses, in the case of 23 a question is raised by the contrast with Mk. 9 40. This contrast is very familiar, however, and needs no discussion. There is no real reason why both sayings should not be original (so most scholars,—cf. Montef., II, p. 622), while J. Weiss (p. 305) and Loisy (p. 708) prefer the version in Q (noting in particular the very artificial context of Mk. 9 40). Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 62) is about the only dissenter, arguing that "gather" and "scatter" can be understood only of the "herd" (i. e., the *Church*) and that the *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* doctrine is prepared for. This argument, however, can scarcely be taken seriously. Against 19 can be urged that it proves too much,—an objection that has been discussed above. Loisy (p. 709) suggests that 19 has been founded on Mk. 9 38-39 (or the source of this passage), in view of such a narrative as that of Acts 19 13-17; the association with 20 being designed to distinguish between (p. 707) "the exorcisms of the Jews, performed in the name of God or Christ, and those which Jesus accomplished by means of the Spirit of God". But this is entirely too obscure; Lk. 19 centers not around the Jewish exorcisms but around Beezebul as the supposed means of Christ's exorcisms, and Loisy leaves unexplained how a Christian writer could have formed the verse in such a way as to shield the legitimacy of Christ's exorcisms behind those of the Jews. This last comment seems decisive, —the tone of the verse is entirely contrary to the spirit of the Apostolic Age and the words must be referred to Jesus himself. Similarly Lk. 20 seems to run counter to Apostolic ideas, as it places the advent of the Kingdom back in the *lifetime* of Jesus. This is perhaps not impossible for Apostolic ideas (cf. J. Weiss, p. 305, Loisy, p. 707,—very tentatively) but it is certainly opposed to the ordinary NT. concepts which date the advent of the Kingdom (in as far as it was not thought to be wholly future) from the Resurrection or Crucifixion, but never from the beginning of the exorcisms. Certainly, again, the balance of probability favors Jesus as the source of these words.

The Lucan parallel to the verses that follow in Mk. (28—30) and Mt. (31—32) is in an entirely different context (L. 12 10)

but the relations between the three Evangelists are the same as those just discussed. Again Mt.'s text is a combination of Mk. and the source used by Lk. and again most of the differences between Mt.'s and Lk.'s wording have arisen in Mt. through this combination of sources. In place of Lk.'s future indicative in a general condition (an unusual construction, even if not precisely un-Greek) Mt. 32 has adopted Mk. 29's aorist subjunctive. Lk. has *τῷ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημήσαντι* but in 31 Mt. has already adopted *ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία* from Mk. 29 and consequently in 32 conforms the second clause to the first (and in so doing obscures the sense, for to "speak against the Spirit" need not mean quite as much as "blaspheme the Spirit"). The very awkward *λόγος εἰς* in Lk. (due, apparently to the following *βλασφημ. εἰς*,—Acts 6 11 is the only approach to a NT. parallel) has been smoothed in *λόγος κατά* and Lk.'s *τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* has yielded to Mk.'s *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*. On the other hand, Lk.'s fondness for participial constructions makes it probable that in place of *τῷ βλασφημήσαντι* Q had *πᾶς ὃς βλασφημήσει* as in the first part of the verse. But, with this exception, a form of Q identical with that of Lk. explains perfectly the form of Mt. and is therefore to be postulated.

To compare Mt. with Mk. Between the parallels (29 and 31) to Mk. 27 and 28 Mt. has inserted a verse (30) from Q and consequently has changed Mk. 28's *ἀμήν* into *διὰ τοῦτο* (31). Mk.'s *ὅτι* recitative is dropped. "Sons of men" is changed into "men," partly because the combination is very unusual and partly to avoid the contrast with "Son of Man" about to be introduced from Q. Mk. 28*c* is superfluous. Mt. 31*c* introduces *βλασφημία* to take up the same word immediately preceding, so replacing Mk. 29*a*'s *βλασφημήσῃ*. After the insertion from Q in Mt. 31*b*—32*b*, Mk. 29*b* is expanded in Mt. 32*c* into a more solemn phrase (which avoids Mk.'s *αἰῶνα*—*αἰωνίου*). Mk. 30 is quite needless and is dropped. Hence all of Mt.'s variations from Mk. and Lk. are due to redactorial motives, making Mt. of no importance as independent testimony, and, as before, the problem reduces to a comparison of Mk. and Lk. (i. e., of Mk. and Q).

Mk., again, is thoroughly in the Evangelist's style and ends (30) with what is explicitly an editorial note that may be disregarded for the present. Wellh. (*Mk.*, p. 26, Klost., p. 32, Montef., I, p. 117) calls attention to the disagreement of ὅσα with βλασφημίαι, arguing that τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι may be an importation into Mk.'s text from Mt.'s. This is certainly possible but Mk. is not a strict enough writer to give such an argument great weight, while Mt.'s text is better explicable from Mk.'s as the latter now stands than it would be if these words were omitted. For the omission of εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα from Mk. 29 Wellh. (*Mk.*, p. 27) cites D and the Latin versions but, again, the words are in accord with Mk.'s prolix style and their omission is more easily explained than their addition. On the other hand, Mk. 28—29 certainly contain a badly drawn distinction between blasphemy in general and blasphemy against the Spirit, for blasphemy is not blasphemy except against God, and the Spirit (to the Jew) is simply a quality of God (cf. Wellh., *Mk.*, p. 27, Nicol., p. 241). Possibly Mk. has been influenced by Christian terminology, which admitted a distinction between "God" and "the Spirit" in a way that the Jewish did not. Finally the form of Mk. 28—29 is very clumsy, for in 28 a universal rule is laid down and amplified and then in 29 a vital exception is brought in an entirely new sentence.[16]

To compare now Mk. and Q. Nearly all of the Greek words in Q are found also in Mk. but these words are not at all characteristic and their order is entirely changed, as is the grammatical construction. Hence it is impossible to prove that the two versions are derived from the same *Greek* source,[17]

[16] Perhaps Mk. 29*c* is due to Mk.'s "hardening" theory (Nicol., p. 241, —cf. J. Weiss, p. 95).

[17] E. g., Loisy (p. 711) thinks that Mk. has simply glossed Q. More generally, for the dependence of Mk. on Q, Loisy (p. 710) and Nicol. (p. 239) argue that Mk. 30 uses ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα very abruptly at the close of a passage that has spoken entirely of "Beezebul" and "Satan." This new phrase, however, could be explained readily if Mk. were using a document in which the next verse was Lk. 11 15 (Mt. 12 24), for then Mk. simply closed his redaction of one passage with the opening words from the next. It might be added, also, that there is a curious parallelism

although that they are derived from a common source of some kind is obivious. Now, if this source is to be identified with either of the present forms, the priority of Q to Mk. seems critically certain. For Q uses blasphemy in accord with Jewish terminology, while Mk. does not. Q states two distinct offences in clear terms, while Mk. is very confused. And,—most important,—the evolution of Mk. from Q would be in accord with Apostolic feeling, while the reverse development would be almost impossible. For Mk., who regarded a man's attitude towards Christ as determining that man's eternal destiny (Mk. 8 38, etc.), naturally classed words against Christ among the most heinous offences possible. Yet he wished to use a saying that singled out words against Christ as pardonable. The difficulty was resolved by including such words in "sins and blasphemies" of every sort,—they were pardonable in the sense that any blasphemy against God might be pardonable. In this way the sense of the original seemed to be preserved conscientiously, while an echo of the phraseology of Q was kept in the unique and almost impossible phrase "the sons of the men." This process is clear enough. On the other hand, if Q is supposed secondary, it becomes necessary to assume that a Christian writer undertook to minimize the offence of speaking against the Lord and for this purpose modified an entirely general statement so as to introduce this teaching explicitly. Such a procedure seems incomprehensible and equally incomprehensible would be the general reception of the document that was so produced. Consequently the priority of Q appears assured (so B. Weiss, J. Weiss, p. 96, Loisy, p. 711, Bacon, p. 39, Nicol., p. 241).

between Mk. and Q in that at the beginning both narratives (Mk. 3 22 and Lk. 11 24 = Mt. 12 43) speak of "Beezebul" and then change abruptly to "Satan",—in fact, Mk.'s isolated mention of "Beezebul" is as strange as his πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον and may be used similarly as indicating a use of Q. But, in the face of the wide divergence of the texts of Mk. and Q in the passage proper, these arguments are inconclusive,—the most they need mean is that Mk. had read Q and remembered some of it. This is, in fact, more than probable (in other parts of Mk. a close use of Q seems certain) but it is very different from the supposition that in this section Mk. was acting simply as the (free) editor of a document.

These considerations seem ignored in the counter-argument of Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 66,—cf. Klost., p. 244, Montef., I, p. 117). Wellh.'s chief point is that Q is self-contradictory, for the blasphemy against the Spirit consists in words against the Son of Man, so that the assumed two offences are really only one. But this overlooks the fact that the present instance is only a particular case of a much wider principle and that the very point here lies in the coincidence of the two offences (cf., especially, J. Weiss, pp. 96, 305). Although the words are against the Son of Man it is not for that reason but because they are *also* against the Spirit that they are unpardonable. Wellh. argues further that the general "sons of men" in Mk. has become reduced in Q to the particular "Son of Man" and then the latter has been set in relation to "blasphemy" instead of to "forgive." The evolution must have gone this way, for the reverse process would be unthinkable. But the above discussion has shown that it is not only entirely thinkable but that it is the only change that accords with what is known of the trend of tradition. As a third argument, Wellh. writes that blasphemy can be directed only against God, while "the Son of Man is not God." The point of this, however, is difficult to catch, for Q does *not* say "blasphemy against the Son of Man" in either Mt.'s or Lk.'s version,—as Wellh. goes on to state explicitly. Evidently none of these arguments can weigh against those on the other side.

There remains the possibility that both the Mk. and the Q versions have been developed from some common source. For such a source Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 67,—cf. Klost., p. 32) suggests the text of Mk. with the singular τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in place of the plural,—the singular, of course, meaning simply "man."[18] A misinterpretation of this as "Son of Man" led to the pluralization in Mk. by some later editor and to the paraphrase in Q. But this is simply hypothesis (cf. Loisy, p. 711). Moreover it leaves unexplained why Mk. did not write ἀνθρώπῳ or ἀνθρώποις

[18] Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 67) compares Mk. 2 10. 28. But these passages are hardly relevant, for in both *Mark* certainly understood the phrase in a Messianic sense and so could hardly have used it differently here (on 2 10 cf. Wellh., *Mk.*, p. 16).

in the first place, as elsewhere, and in no way simplifies the difficulty of deriving the Q form from the Marcan,—in fact, it removes the Q form even further from its supposed origin. Other attempts to recover an original form of the saying have ignored the Marcan version and have sought simply to go back of that in Q. But, such attempts, naturally, go outside of the passage itself for their motives and rest on deductions drawn from other passages as to what was or was not possible in the mouth of Jesus. So, for instance, the proposal of J. Weiss (p. 305) to find back of "Son of Man" an original "me." Such a purely mechanical change, of course, could not be detected in the passage taken by itself and is due only to a doubt as to whether Jesus ever used "Son of Man" as a self-designation Loisy (pp. 711—712,—cf. Nicol., p. 240) thinks that "the distinction introduced between the Son of Man and the Spirit appears to have a theological character, by opposing, as it were, the humanity of the Saviour to his divinity, the exterior of his activity to the supernatural principle of his works." Consequently the original perhaps ran "whosoever shall say a word against any son of man— —," which Q misrendered "the Son of Man," —without causing offence because a distinction was made between Jesus as man and the Spirit of God which was in him. But this either leaves Mk.'s extraordinary paraphrase unexplained or else requires a very literal use by Mk. of the Greek Q (something, in fact, that Loisy defends). Moreover, if "son of man" were simply the ordinary expression for "man,"—as the translator of Q must have known perfectly well,—the retention of "son of" in the Greek is inexplicable. But, moreover, —and chiefly,—Loisy seems to have raised a difficulty where none exists. There is no theological subtlety whatever in the saying and Jesus certainly could have drawn the distinction quite as naturally as any later writer,—and with much less offence. Such a search for an original form of the saying will be justified only when the demonstration has been completed that Jesus did not use "Son of Man" as a self-designation—and this demonstration is as yet very far from complete.[19] The most

[19] On the linguistic side of the question the following words of Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 130) are worth quoting:—"Schon die jerusalemischen Christen

that has been done is to show that the title does not belong in certain passages and to suggest processes (of which suggestions the above are very fair examples) by which the title *could* have crept into the remaining passages. But this is a very different matter from showing that the title *did* so creep into such passages.

Finally, as to the original context of the saying. The meaning in Lk. is far from clear and the exegesis of Lk. 12 9-12 is notoriously difficult. On the surface the passage is very confused,[20] for in 9 denial of Christ is not pardonable while according to 10 pardon can be extended to words spoken against him,—only blasphemy against the Spirit being unpardonable. And then in 11—12 an entirely abrupt change seems to be made to the Spirit as inspiring defence when on trial. Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 66) finds different classes of men in 10*a* (non-Christians) and 10*b* (Christians). Then the passage becomes something like this:—(9) Denial of me will be punished by condemnation. (10) But by "denial" is not meant any word spoken against me,—such words may be uttered through ignorance (cf. Acts 3 19). If, however, they are spoken by those having the illumination of the Spirit they are unpardonable (cf. Heb. 10 29). (11—12) The offence is all the greater as the Spirit can be trusted to carry one through the trial. This is good Apostolic theology and is very plausible. An alternative, perhaps simpler, is to suppose that both clauses of 10 refer to unbelievers. "Not all of those who attack Christ are past hope,—but some of them are. It is only the latter who will resist your defence and on them will be visited the severest condemnation" (cf. Montef., II, p. 953). In either case the passage is altogether too complicated to account for the *formation* of 10 and too complicated, also, for the original context of this verse,—that there is a "mosaic" here is evident.

But was this mosaic formed first in Lk. or in Q? Most scholars hold that Lk. first made the combination (B. Weiss,

werden das spezifische barnascha von dem gewöhnlichen barnascha unterschieden haben."

20 It is hard to see how Nicol. (p. 238) can think the Lucan order natural.

p. 36, J. Weiss, p. 434, Holtzm., p. 370, Loisy, p. 710,[21] Montef., p. 953). But this does not follow simply from the fact (alone urged by most of these scholars) that Lk.'s present narrative is obviously artificial. If Q be supposed to have established the present connection, it is only necessary to assume that the verse had been already applied to the adversaries of Christianity in the oral tradition, which Q simply followed,—Lk. using Q here without Mk. If, on the other hand, Lk. be supposed to have established the connection, then it is necessary to assume that he violated the order of *both* his *written* sources, removed the verse from a place where it fitted perfectly, held it (so to speak) in mid-air, and finally deposited it in an entirely different passage where it not only seemed to be out of relation to the context but to contradict the preceding verse. The first supposition is vastly preferable.[22] Moreover, if Q originally ran as it stands in Lk. 12 2-12, it is easy to understand the formation of the parallel parts of Mt. (ch. 10,—cf. Nicol., pp. 237—240), especially if Q continued beyond Lk. 12 12 as in Mt. 10 21-22. After Mt. 10 16, Mt. turned to this Q passage and began to copy it at the point (Mt. 10 17 = Lk. 12 11) where it would yield a good connection and continued to copy until he had reached the end of the section in Q. Then, after adding two or three verses (Mt. 10 23-25[23] or 24-25) taken perhaps from some other part[24] of Q, he returned (10 26) to the beginning of the section whose latter part he had copied and started to copy the remainder (10 26-33). When he had completed 10 33 (Lk. 12 9), however, he recognized that the next verse (Lk. 12 10) was in a different and better context in Mk. and consequently omitted

[21] Noting, however, that the other alternative may be possible.

[22] If this is right, then a literary use of Q by Mk. involves assuming that Mk. went to an entirely different section of Q to find a saying for the close of his narrative. But even this is less difficult than supposing the reverse process in Lk.

[23] There is considerable reason to think that Mt. 10 23 stood after 10 22 in Q and that this was its original place.

[24] Nicol. (p. 234), however, thinks that these verses all stood in Q in their present Matthaean context. From this he argues again for Mk.'s use of Q, claiming that the Βεεζεβούλ ἔχει is an echo of Mt. 10 24-25 (Lk. 6 40). But too many suppositions are involved.

this verse here. Lk., however, in 12 2-12 simply copied Q just as it stood, with some abbreviation of the matter[25] now in Mt. 10 17-18, and after completing 12 12 omitted the remainder of the Q section as unsuited to the present context. This is a very simple explanation and is probably correct.

This, naturally, does not show that Mk.'s context is correct, —something, indeed, that is quite incapable of proof. But the observation of Loisy (p. 712) seems entirely just:—"In whatever occasion Jesus may have spoken of blasphemy against the Spirit, he must have had his own works in view; and the expulsion of evil spirits being the work that was best adapted for this declaration, the combination of the two first Evangelists should have the sort and the degree of truth that is desirable in such matters."

Summarizing:—In the passage discussed Lk. represents practically a transcript of Q. Q, in turn, apart from slight touches, contains the oldest recoverable form of the sayings recorded in it and all of these sayings may, with a high degree of probability, be assigned to Jesus himself. But that they were all uttered on a single occasion does not follow,—the saying in Lk. 11 23 is almost certainly out of place and those in Lk. 11 19-20 may also belong to some other occasion. The saying in Lk. 12 10 was placed in its present Lucan context by the author of Q. Mk. has given a freer version of certain of these sayings. This version shows Marcan touches but there is no particular evidence to show that Mk.'s version is derived from a redaction of Q (even in the Aramaic and still less in the Greek). In especial Mk.'s position for the saying in Lk. 12 10 is much better than that assigned to it in Q. Mt., finally, worked together the narratives in Q and Mk., following Mk. rather than Q for the place of the saying in Lk. 12 10, and contributes nothing independent to the evidence.

[25] An expansion of Q in Mt. 10 17-18 is less likely. But in no case are Mt. 10 17-20 = Lk. 12 11-12 derived from Mk. 13 11, against which they agree in both the position of the saying and in its Greek wording.

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Note on Hosea 1—3

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IT is generally agreed that Hos. 4—14 (omitting the Judah passages, 14 10, parts or the whole of 14 2-9, and a few other insertions) is a unity; material and tone are substantially the same throughout. But there is room for doubt whether chaps. 1—3 belong with the rest of the book, for, while, like all pre-exilic prophetic writings, the two parts have in common dissatisfaction with the existing condition of religion, the differences between them are great. The contrast between the connected discourse and smooth flowing style of chap. 2 and the isolated paragraphs and exclamatory sentences of 4—14 is obvious. The two differ also in the material that interests them: in 4—14 there is a survey of the whole state of affairs in the northern kingdom—the bull-worship, the ignorance of the priests, the corruption of the royal court, the foreign relations are denounced; in 1—3 it is the worship of the local baals that excites the writer's indignation. These differences cannot be accounted for by the supposition that the two parts were composed at different periods in one man's life. In the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel we have series of discourses extending over many years, but the treatment, tone and style remain the same throughout in each book.[1] The sharp variations in Hosea point naturally to difference of authorship.

[1] Only genuine material, of course, is here considered.

But the first part, chaps. 1—3, seems not to be a unity. The central discourse, chap. 2, has references to a future reconstruction that suggest the hand of an exilic or post-exilic editor, and the same thing is true of 3 5.[2] The promise in 2 1 stands isolated; it connects neither with the preceding nor with the succeeding context, and is a late addition.[3] Another fragment is 2 3, which presupposes a discourse that has not been preserved.

The two paragraphs describing symbolical actions, 1 2-6. 8f., 3, appear to be independent productions, connected organically neither with chap. 2 nor with each other. In the first of these the prophet is commanded by Yahweh to marry a lewd woman, and three children are born of the marriage; the first child is said (v. 3) to be Hosea's, not illegitimate, and the connection conveys the impression that the other two also were considered to be born in lawful wedlock. After v. 2 there is no reference to the character of the woman—the interest is all in the children. The name of the first child, Jezreel, is given not a religious but a political significance;[4] the fall of the Jehu dynasty is regarded as imminent (the date is thus indicated). The other names express the rejection of Israel by Yahweh; the isolated statement of 2 3 ('say to your brethren[5] Ammi and to your sister[5] Ruhamah') is identical in sense with 2 25, and is somehow connected with the preceding.

In 1 2-9 the wife seems to be introduced simply for the purpose of accounting for the children; symbolical names of children were desired and the natural preliminary was a marriage. As the wife represents the unfaithful nation, it was natural that she should be described as lewd; yet the calm tone of the story is noticeable. The names convey in themselves no slur on wife or children; the procedure is similar to that of Isaiah (Isa. 8 1-4). There is no trace of emotion, no love, indignation or sorrow.

[2] The clause 'and David their king' is omitted by some critics.

[3] The next verse (describing the future of the two kingdoms) is probably from a still different Judean hand.

[4] The name has a different signification in 2 24 and 2 2.

[5] The Septuagint has 'brother' and 'sister,' which readings should perhaps be adopted.

The romantic history of a man wounded in his deepest feelings through an ill-fated marriage that saddened his life and colored his thought seems to me to have no foundation in the text. If there had been passionate devotion and sorrow, there would doubtless have been some mention of it, but there is none; the narrative is a quiet statement of facts. Nor is the supposition of an unfortunate marriage necessary to explain the tender tone that appears in parts of 4—14 or the conception of Yahweh as a god who loved his people; a man of tender and loving nature might, without a crushing marital experience, think of the national deity as loving, and might, as a patriot, grieve over the decadence and misfortunes of his country.[6]

The woman of chap. 3 is, as it seems to me, not the same with her of chap. 1; the *mise en scène* and the aim are different in the two narratives.[7] There we have a marriage with an unchaste woman and the birth of children, setting forth the Israelitish worship of alien deities and the consequent wrath of Yahweh; here it is the purchase of an unchaste slave-girl who is to be secluded, not allowed to be wife to her (unnamed) purchaser or to any man, the lesson being Israel's coming deprivation of all the national apparatus of religion, that is, the destruction of the national life by exile. The woman is not the Gomer of the first chapter, for she has been living with a paramour, and nothing is said of the former wife's having been made a slave. There is no expression of sentiment in the story, the transaction is official and business-like; the girl is used simply as a symbol. The two narratives are similar figurative representations independent each of the other, and it is unnecessary to attempt to harmonize them.

The section chaps. 1—3 is a mass of separate prophetic productions, originating in different periods, and put together, as was the manner of scribes, by a late editor who made no vigorous attempt at coherency. The hands of editors are recogniz-

[6] So Jeremiah, who was unmarried.

[7] The עוד of 3 1 is intended to connect this episode with that of the first chapter; but this is a well-known editorial device for combining a later paragraph with an earlier. Perhaps the awkward sentence beginning תחלת דבר (1 2) owes its origin to the same desire.

able throughout the section, and this fact, together with the curtness and vagueness of some of the expressions, makes it difficult to discover the chronological relations between the paragraphs. There has been, perhaps, an interchange of influence. In the original form of chap. 2 (which is of the eighth century) Yahweh is the husband of the adulterous Israel, and the marriage in chap. 1 may be merely the dramatization of this idea; or, the imitation may have been in the opposite direction. It is not necessary indeed to suppose borrowing in either direction; the two descriptions may have come from a common fund of thought. But the juxtaposition of the two suggests some relation between them, and the precedence should, probably, be given to the ordinary prophetic style of chap. 2 rather than to the somewhat confused symbolism of the first chapter. On the other hand the designation of the land of Israel as 'Jezreel' (2 24), the land made productive by the favor of Yahweh, may be designed to do away with the bloody Jezreel and the terrible threat of 1 5; and the 'Ammi' of 2 3. 25 and the 'Ruhamah' of 2 3 may be a reply to the negations of 1 6. 9. But these and other such details can hardly be fixed with certainty.

The statement in 1 2 that Hosea's marriage was contracted by command of Yahweh is the conventional prophetic way of claiming divine authority for words and deeds. It proves only (supposing that a real marriage took place) that the writer of the section held such a procedure to be permissible by Yahweh. The text says distinctly that the marriage was an actual fact not a vision or a figure of speech; but it is possible that v. 2 is the work of an editor who ascribed to an old prophet what he would not have done himself, just as Deut. 20 16 f. enjoins for the time of the conquest a procedure that was impossible in the seventh century.

Though the author of chaps. 4—14 cannot be considered to be the author of chap. 2 or the actor in the episodes of chaps. 1 and 3, the several parts of 1—3 throw light on the religious conceptions of various periods. The people are described as being, in the eighth century, completely devoted to the worship of the local deities. Yahweh is thought of as a jealous god

without the alternations of tenderness and severity that appear in 4—14. The hope of future national revival is connected with the anticipation of the political union of the two parts of the nation (Ezekiel's expectation). If the procedures of chaps. 1 and 3 are real, they indicate a curious liberty of symbolic action that certain prophets allowed themselves; but possibly they are pure inventions.

Studies in the Diction of the Psalter

First Article

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THE purpose of these Studies is not to discuss afresh the whole critical problem of the Psalter, but to present certain facts bearing upon that problem which seem not to have attracted much notice, though apparently of some importance. It is proposed simply to give summaries of certain phenomena in the vocabulary and lexical usage of the Psalter, and to consider questions as to their possible relation to its literary history.

Much of the matter to be presented is statistical, involving close attention to minutiae, and the entire discussion belongs to a class of critical investigations that is not always highly esteemed for other reasons than its intricacy. It is only fair to say that the pursuit of this kind of inquiry, certainly on so extensive a scale, was not originally in the writer's mind. As it was taken up for experiment, however, and subjected to prolonged testing, it has seemed to have enough validity and suggestiveness to warrant pressing it to conclusions, so that its results may be compared with those reached in other ways.

The tendency of Psalter commentation has been to be strongly subjective. This does not mean that it has usually been dominated by an obtrusive personal bias or prejudice, though these have not always been avoided, but simply that, owing to the inherent peculiarities of the problem, much has been made of presuppositions or assumptions, or, at least, of canons derived from the critic's mere feeling or instinct. The trained instinct is surely a valuable implement of research, but it commands confidence only when exercised in close contact with the ob-

served facts and with all the facts that merit observation. Our main object here is to add to the store of such facts. These, if correctly recorded and fairly appraised, lead on toward conclusions. Whether the inferences that are here suggested are reasonable remains to be seen. All that is claimed for these Studies is that they represent an attempt to pursue a course of genuinely scientific induction, with emphasis always upon objective phenomena as basal to and directive of the reasoning.

It is surprising that no elaborate studies seem to have been made in the vocabulary and diction of the Psalter. The fact that the Psalter is apparently a composite collection would naturally suggest such studies, since delicate lexical tests have often proved helpful in analyzing diverse materials. In applying these, it is important to remember that the compositeness of the Psalter probably has several aspects. Different poems may come from very different sources. Whole groups of poems may represent periods and circumstances. Individual poems may be made up of independent sections, or may have been subjected to considerable emendation or interpolation. The detection and classification of these heterogeneous materials should not be left to critical intuition, but, if possible, should be connected with some line of objective analysis. Although lexical tests are seldom demonstrative, yet they supply invaluable hints that may be taken as a basis of argument.

These Studies will be confined to the following topics:— (a) Some general summaries of the Psalter vocabulary, with notes on the relative frequency of the words and on their distribution among the poems and groups of poems; (b) A special investigation of what will be called the "liturgical" vocabulary, with inferences from its distribution;[1] (c) A similar treatment of the vocabulary of the "David" poems; (d) A similar treatment of the Elohistic division of the collection; (e) Some notes upon other topics more or less involved in the foregoing.

[1] The main points in the discussion of the first two topics have already been embodied in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January, 1913. These are here restated with greater elaboration of some details, so as to be directly accessible for comparison with similar details under the other topics.

In vocabulary studies it is usually necessary first of all to try to establish a rectified text. Particularly would this seem indispensable in the case of the Psalter, the text of which is rather notoriously doubtful in many places. Yet, for the precise purposes here in view, this extremely difficult task can be largely avoided, since it proves that most of the corrections that would most naturally be made have but slight effect upon the statistics that are chiefly used, and since, when it is a cardinal principle to eliminate subjective factors, the very subjective process of textual emendation is out of place, certainly at the outset. When one is seeking for clues as to the history of the received text as it stands, any emendation runs the risk of obliterating or distorting significant evidence.

There is, I think, no satisfactory separate vocabulary of the Psalter. Hence the student must either make it up direct from the text, or collate it from trustworthy general concordances. In the present case the latter course was followed, and this has proved satisfactory for the immediate purposes.[2]

If we omit the captions, the four benedictions at the end of Bks. I—IV, סלה, and the inseparables, the ordinary text of the Psalter comprises about 18,400 words.[3] In examining the distribution of certain words, it is useful, also, to set aside the formulae הללויה (at the opening or close of a poem) and כי לעולם חסדו (as in Ps. 136).

As ordinarily counted, the vocabulary from which the text is made up contains about 2,150 words, though, of course, opinions would vary as to how far closely related forms should be separated or combined. In estimating this total, also, considerable variation would result as soon as corrections or emendations of the text were admitted. For preliminary purposes,

[2] In English there are two Vocabularies, that of Arthur S. Fiske (Hartford, privately printed, 1887) and that of George A. Alcock (London, Elliot Stock, 1903). The former is a mere word-list, without citation of passages; it is almost complete and very accurate. The latter aims to cite all the passages and furnish some other information, but is defective and not above criticism in other regards.

[3] Inseparables combined with a pronoun, so as to make a separate word, appear in about 470 cases, raising the above total towards 19,000.

however, it proves convenient and safe to use the ordinarily accepted list as it stands.

A very large number of these words occur but a few times each. Thus nearly 900 are found only in single poems, and about 1,000 more occur in not more than twelve poems. There are about 235 words that occur with relative frequency—in more than twelve poems. Throughout the present study these latter are called "common," while the rest are called "rare." Taken by themselves, the "common" words make up about 68 % of the entire text and the "rare" words about 32 %.

The gradation from words that are "common" to those that are "rare" is, of course, continuous. Where to draw the line between the two classes is a question, and any separation must be arbitrary. The fixing of the dividing-point at *twelve* poems was made after considerable experimentation, and seems to have practical utility.

Classification by the number of *poems* in which the words occur, rather than by the total number of occurrences, is obviously wise, since mere repetitions within a given poem are much less significant than appearances in independent poems. Exact arrangement, however, is made difficult by the fact that "doublets" of the same passages are found, for which in some cases allowance ought to be made.

For convenience of reference, we here insert the list of "common" words, as thus secured, arranging them, as nearly as may be, in ten groups, beginning with those found in the largest number of poems, and ending with those found in only thirteen poems (these latter lying close to the arbitrary line drawn between "common" and "rare" words):

A	B	C	D	E
In 57—130 poems	41—54 poems	33—40 poems	27—32 poems	24—26 poems
אֶל	אָדָם	בָּטַח	ארני	אהב
אלהים	אוֹב	בית	אישׁ	אם
אָמַר	אין	בָּרַךְ	אמת	גם
ארץ	אַל	גוי	אף n.	הם
אֵת (acc.)	אַל	דָּרָךְ	דָּבָר	הִנֵּה
אַתָּה	אני	הוא	הוֹר	יַחַד
היה	אֲשֶׁר	הלך	הר	יָלַךְ
יד	בוא	הלל II.	זָכַר	יָם
ידע	בן	חיה n.	זמר	יעקב
יהוה	דִּבֶּר	ירא v.	ימין	לֵבב
יום	חָסָד	ישראל	יצא	מאד
כי	טוֹב adj.	ישועה	לשון	מעז

A	B	C	D	E
In 57—130 poems	41—54 poems	33—40 poems	27—32 poems	24—26 poems
כל	ידה	יָשַׁע	מי	מעשה
לא	ישב	כבוד	נָגַד	נטה
לב	מה	כון	נצל	נָפַל
נפשׁ	עד conj.	מים	סָפַר	עָבַד
נתן	עין	מָלַךְ	עָו	עבר
עולם	פֶּה	משפט	צדיק	עָמַד
עַל	קרא I.	נשׂא	צדק	ענה I.
עַם	רַע	עַם	ציון	רָגַל
עשׂה	רָשָׁע	קָדַשׁ	ראשׁ I.	רוח n.
פָּנָה	שָׁמַח	קול	רום	שום
ראה	שׁמים	קום	שנא	
שׂם	שָׁמַע	רַב		
		שׁוב		
		שָׁמַר		

F	G	H	I	J
In 21—23 poems	19—20 poems	16—18 poems	14—15 poems	13 poems
אבד	אָכַל	אביון	אָהַל	אב
אָוֶן	אָשָׁר	אור n.	אָזַן	אור v.
אָזַן	אַת prep.	אנושׁ	אף conj.	ברית
אשׁ	בושׁ	בל	בִּין	גבורה
גדול	בקשׁ	גיל v.	בָּקַר	זֶה
חנן	חסה	דם	בשׂר	חָמָה
חסיד	ירא adj.	דרשׁ	גָּדַל	חרפה
יה	ירד	זאת	חיה v.	כנור
כן adv.	יָשָׁר	חשׁב	חפץ v.	כסה
לילה	כמו	מות n.	חָרַב	מות v.
עון	כף	מן	יָשַׁע	מרום
עָלָה	מוט v.	נָגַד	כָּלָא	מרמה
עָנִי	מלא v.	נַחֲלָה	לָחַם	נָהָר
פְּלָא	סָתַר	עוד	מגן	נָצַח
פָּעַל	עד n.	פתח	מצא	נצר
צדקה	עליון	צר II.	נבט	עוב
צרה	עת	שָׂכַר	נחה	עָצַם
רנן	צור	שָׁכַח	סבב	עתה
שׁפח	קָרַב	שָׁכַן	סביב	צאן
שׁיר v.	שׂבע	שָׁלַם	עָזַר	צוה
שׁית v.	שׁלום	שָׁם	עיר	רנה
שׁלח	תפלה	תמיד	צבא	רעע II.
שׁפט			רדף	תחת
תהלה			שׁאול	
			שׁחה	
			שָׁקַר	

Average total number of occurrences of each word:—
A. 190 B. 75 C. 56 D. 44 E. 35 F. 29 G. 25 H. 22 I. 19 J. 17
Taken together, these 236 words occur about 12,275 times, averaging over 50 times for each word.

If the purpose here were the drafting of a critically satisfactory vocabulary, the above list would need considerable sifting, and various questions as to meaning and usage would at once present themselves. But it will be found that even so rough a list a this can be employed for certain forms of analysis without danger of serious error. One of the first things to be examined is the question whether a separation cannot be made (by the use of objective criteria) between those parts of the Psalter that are relatively peculiar, individual or singular and those that are relatively conventional or formal. In some way we need to get at a standard within the Psalter itself. This standard can be tentatively determined by using the above list of "common" words as a basis for statistical analyses.

There is wide variation among the poems as to the proportion in their text of the words here called "rare." If they were all of about the same texture, the proportion of "rare" words would not be far from 33 % in all cases. But, on examination, we find that some poems show much higher percentages than this, rising in a few cases above 50, while others show very low percentages, falling in one case to 0. Of course, where the percentage of "rare" words is high, that of "common" words is low, and *vice versa*. And not only is there variation in the percentages, but the distribution of the poems that are "strong" (in "rare" words) and those that are "weak" is suggestive. The only way to exhibit this latter point is through some sort of diagram, but the mere figures of the percentages can be set down in a table, as follows:

Percentages of Rare Words in the Several Psalms.

%	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
52	—	58, 60, 65	—	—	—
48	—	—	—	—	129
46	19	—	—	91	—
45	—	51	—	—	—
43	2	45, 68	—	—	150
42	23	—	78, 83	—	107, 114, 137
41	—	—	—	—	108, 132, 139

%	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
40	17, 39	—	76, 80	104	144, 147
39	11, 18, 35	69	—	—	124
38	8, 40	—	73, 77	106	126, 149
37	—	64	—	105	110
36	22	50, 70	74, 88, 89	93, 94	119
35	6	55, 72	75, 79	90	127
34	10	62	—	—	—
33	7	—	81	—	—
32	15, 29, 32, 38	44, 49	—	92, 102	109, 122
31	5, 12, 37	42, 46, 63	87	103	140
30	1, 16, 26, 31, 36	57, 59	—	—	133, 141
29	—	48	—	—	142
28	25	—	82	101	116, 148
27	4, 20	43, 52	84	95, 98	111, 112, 120
26	9, 30, 33	71	—	96	123
25	13, 27	—	—	—	—
24	28, 41	53	—	100	128, 146
23	21	—	—	97	131, 135
22	—	61, 66	85	99	113, 121
21	14	56	—	—	130, 145
20	24	—	—	—	136, 143
19	34	47	—	—	118, 125
18	3	54	—	—	117
13	—	67	86	—	115, 138
0	—	—	—	—	134

Merely a glance at the poems whose percentages are high is enough to identify them as among the most individual in the collection. For this reason they are not readily arranged in groups or classes, and, as wholes, they present no marked similarities to poems further down the list.

But the case is different with the poems whose percentages are low. Here we find a considerable amount of conventionality in expression, as well as general similarities of topic and spirit. In most cases we should naturally call the prevailing style "liturgical," and this designation has so great convenience that it may be adopted, with the proviso, however, that it may need further definition. This general style is not at all confined to the poems that are "weak" in "rare" words. It appears more or less in those that are moderately "strong," but it is there intermingled with other material in such a way that the proportion of "rare" words becomes considerable. In other words, in the middle of the list there are many cases in which passages that are individual and peculiar are closely combined with those that are relatively commonplace or, at least, common in the Psalter.

At all events, the method by which the above summaries are derived justifies us in saying that whatever qualities are dominant in the poems toward the bottom of the list are somewhat characteristic of the Psalter as a whole. What we are here calling "conventional" is that which is so in the Psalter, not in other forms of literature. What this consists in will be seen more clearly in the sequel. If it proves to be like what is ordinary in any literature, it is one thing. But if it is special and unusual, then it is another. In the latter case, the question will at once arise, Is this characteristic feature, or class of features, in the Psalter essential to all Psalter poetry as such, or is it due to conditions incident to the progressive shaping of the collection into its present form? It is clear that discussing this question is likely to shed light upon the history of the book.

It is obvious that the grading of whole poems as to the proportion of "rare" words in them is only the first step in the analysis. If we concede the possibility—rather, the probability—that many or most of the poems are internally composite, we naturally seek for some practicable way of sifting their contents into "strong" and "weak" classes. In some cases it has become customary to recognize divisions of poems into independent sections, as, for example, in 19 and 144. In other cases much difference of opinion exists as to whether or not independent sections are to be considered, and, if so, just what are their limits. The study of this matter is liable to become involved in just those subjective influences that we are here trying to avoid.

But the division of the poems into *verses* seems, on the whole, to be one that can be utilized without much risk of error. Though this division, as intimated through the system of accents and usually made sure by the rhetorical expression of the thought, may be open to some question, it at least far antedates the era of modern criticism, and seems to go back to the period of the editing of the collection. Accordingly, we need not hesitate to experiment with these smallest units to see whether they differ significantly among themselves in regard to the frequency of "rare" words. Through this study we may be able

to get helpful suggestion as to the problem of sections within the poems.

Remembering that normally there is about one "rare" word in every three, and allowing for the varying length of the verses, it appears at once that the 2,455 verses in the Psalter (omitting captions and benedictions) differ much in the proportion of such words. Some are "barren" (devoid of "rare" words) and some are "very weak" (far below the average proportion), while some are "very strong" (much above the average) and a few have so many "rare" words that they may fitly be called "excessive." Between these two extremes lies a large number that are either "normal" or not far above or below it. In this middle class are about two-thirds of the total list of verses. The remaining one-third is about equally devided between "strength" and "weakness."

We at once note that for our purposes the "barren" verses have importance, since in them we find expressions made up wholly of "common" words. The full list of these verses is as follows:—

1 : 6
3 : 3, 5
4 : 7
7 : 2, 11, 18
9 : 2, 11
10 : 6, 11, 16
13 : 6
14 : 4
16 : 1, 2
18 : 4, 47, 50
20 : 10
21 : 2, 8, 9, 14
22 : 18
24 : 6, 10
25 : 1, 20
26 : 3
27 : 7, 8
29 : 11
30 : 9, 11
31 : 15, 16
32 : 11
33 : 5, 6, 9, 13, 21
44 : 5, 8, 9
45 : 18
47 : 3, 7
48 : 2, 9
49 : 20
50 : 6
51 : 17
52 : 5
53 : 5
54 : 9
55 : 17
56 : 4, 5, 11, 12
57 : 6, 8, 12
59 : 3
62 : 13
63 : 5
64 : 11
65 : 3
66 : 2, 4, 8, 16, 18
67 : 3, 4, 6
68 : 11
69 : 2, 28
73 : 25
75 : 10
77 : 14
78 : 3, 39
82 : 6
84 : 5, 9, 13
85 : 7, 8
86 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8
88 : 2
89 : 17, 26, 27, 43
90 : 14
92 : 2, 9
94 : 7
95 : 3
96 : 3, 4
97 : 6, 9, 10
99 : 2
101 : 1
102 : 16
103 : 1, 17
107 : 1, 8, 15, 21, 31
108 : 2, 6
109 : 2, 21, 26, 27, 31
113 : 1, 2, 4
115 : 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 16
116 : 2, 9
118 : 1, 6, 7, 8, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29
119 : 13, 65, 91, 137, 149, 160, 175
120 : 1, 6
121 : 7, 8
122 : 1, 9
123 : 1
125 : 1
128 : 1, 6
130 : 3, 6
134 : 1, 2, 3
135 : 1, 12, 16, 18
136 : 1, 2, 7, 21, 22, 25, 26
138 : 1, 5, 7

34 : 2, 4, 7, 14, 20
35 : 24
37 : 36
41 : 11
71 : 1, 19
72 : 1
104 : 31, 33
105 : 3, 4, 7
106 : 1, 3, 8, 31, 44
143 : 9, 11
144 : 3
145 : 1, 2, 10, 17, 21
146 : 1, 2, 6
147 : 20
148 : 1, 4
149 : 2

A few of the above verses may be queried because they contain more than one word lying close to the line between the "common" and "rare" classes, viz.: 34 : 14; 49 : 20; 89 : 26; 118 : 17. Whether a few others should also be queried is a matter of opinion.

With these four verses omitted, the list foots up 220 verses.

Closely related to the "barren" verses are those that we call "very weak"—those in which the proportion of "rare" words is much less than half the normal. The probability is that in these verses whatever characteristics belong to "barren" verses will be more or less apparent. The only difficulty is in drawing the line between verses that shall be called "very weak" and those that ought to be called merely "weak." The list that has been used in this study is as follows:—

3 : 4, 7
4 : 2, 4
5 : 6, 12
6 : 6
8 : 5
9 : 20
10 : 12, 13
11 : 7
12 : 8
14 : 7
15 : 1
16 : 8, 9, 10
17 : 1, 6
18 : 25, 28
19 : 2
20 : 2, 7
22 : 27, 28
23 : 6
24 : 2, 3
25 : 2, 11, 15
27 : 2, 9
28 : 3, 9
29 : 3
43 : 3
44 : 18
46 : 3, 6, 11
48 : 11
49 : 2, 3
50 : 7, 16
52 : 11
53 : 7
55 : 13, 20
56 : 14
59 : 17
60 : 12
62 : 8
63 : 12
68 : 20, 35
69 : 7, 14
70 : 5
71 : 20, 24
74 : 19
76 : 8
77 : 2
78 : 5, 21, 42
79 : 9, 13
80 : 18
82 : 8
84 : 5, 19
84 : 3
85 : 9
86 : 5, 9, 17
87 : 5
89 : 2, 9
90 : 3, 17
92 : 10, 12
93 : 3
94 : 15, 16
95 : 7
96 : 13
98 : 3
99 : 4, 9
108 : 5
109 : 16, 28
111 : 6
112 : 1, 6, 7, 8
115 : 12, 18
117 : 2
118 : 15
119 : 43, 62
123 : 2
125 : 2, 5
129 : 8
131 : 1
135 : 3, 5, 6, 13, 17, 19, 20
138 : 2, 4
139 : 14, 24
141 : 8
142 : 5
143 : 2, 8
145 : 20
146 : 10
148 : 14

30 : 2, 4, 13
31 : 2, 8, 18, 20
32 : 2
33 : 12
35 : 10, 20
37 : 28
38 : 17
41 : 3, 8, 10, 12
100 : 3, 5
101 : 7
102 : 3, 20
104 : 35
106 : 47

This list might be lengthened considerably by including some verses from the "weak" class. As it stands, it includes 157 verses.

Assuming that these lists are fairly correct, several facts are apparent, some of which may be important for further use. We may well specify the following:—

(a) The proportion of verses almost or quite devoid of "rare" words is large in about one-fifth of the poems (in 3, 4, 16, 20, 21, 24, 30, 41, 53, 56, 67, 84, 86, 99, 100, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 123, 125, 128, 131, 134, 135, 138, 143, 146), those (naturally) in which, as poems, the proportion of "rare" words is small. Conversely, about one-third of the poems show a small proportion of such verses, just as they show a large percentage of "rare" words in their total text.

(b) There is marked tendency in the poems to begin or end with verses that are below "normal"—over one-half thus beginning, and nearly two-thirds thus ending. Initial verses are "barren" in thirty-two cases, and "very weak" in twelve more. Final verses are "barren" in twenty-two cases, and "very weak" in twenty-eight more. In many instances the juxtaposition of these verses with their context raises a query about interpolation.

(c) Refrain-verses in 57, 67, 107 are "barren," and in 42-43, 46, 80 are below "normal"; but in 49 they are "very strong."

In general, the results of classifying the poems by the proportion of "rare" words in their total text and by the proportion of verses that range from "strong" to "weak" are the same. But it is important to notice that sometimes in "strong" poems "very weak" or "barren" verses occur, and *vice versa*. If there is any significance in the "rare-word test," such cases provoke special inquiry. Undoubtedly, each case must be considered by itself, and no conclusion should be adopted without regard to parallel cases, if they exist.

If, now, we concentrate our attention upon the "barren" verses, it is manifest at once that they fall into two main classes. A small number are "barren" simply because they happen to

use ordinary terms in the expression of thoughts that derive their main color and force from their general context. A much larger number evidently are "liturgical" in essential character, being such utterances as might occur in a ritual, and embodying expressions that are likely to have become current because of ritual habits. These latter are so numerous that the question arises whether through the analysis of the "barren" verses, which by themselves constitute only 9 % of the Psalter, we may not secure a clue that shall enable us to identify similar material, even outside of these verses. What is attempted here is to trace this matter by means of lexical statistics.

It proves that over 200 of the "common" words occur in "barren" verses, some frequently, some only once or rarely. For our present purpose, the critical point to observe is the proportion of the whole number of the occurrences of a given word that is found in these verses. If a word occurs much more often in "barren" verses than 9 % of all its occurrences, it may be said to "prefer" such verses, which amounts to the same thing as saying that it avoids association with "rare" words. Presumably, also, since the number of "common" words is limited, this also means that words with a high percentage in "barren" verses tend to form parts of more or less conventional expressions that are often repeated or imitated. While the facts may be roughly secured by a mere inspection of the verses, we may well lead up to them by a strictly objective analysis of the statistics. In all cases, we begin with the "barren" verses, but check up the data in the "very weak" verses as well, since these latter are evidently akin to the former.

It proves that in the "barren" verses two words show a percentage over four times as great as we should expect, nine more over three times, thirty-one more over twice, etc.; and almost all of these also show a much higher percentage in "very weak" verses than we should expect. Thus we may isolate a special vocabulary, which is characteristic of the "barren" verses and those like them, a vocabulary made up of "common" words that "prefer" in the Psalter to associate together, entirely or mostly without intermixture with "rare" words.

Instead of working thus with the "barren" verses, we may also analyze the vocabulary of the "weaker" *poems* (those with a low percentage of "rare" words). The results coincide to a very large extent, which, perhaps, is the more surprising because the actual material used in the two inductions is far from being the same.

This special vocabulary will naturally include the forty-two words that are twice as frequent in "barren" verses as is expected, together with a selection of those that are noticeably frequent in both "barren" and "very weak" verses, making fifty-five in all, viz.:

Test-List Derived from Barren and Very Weak Verses.

זמר	44	5	צדקה	26	12	שיר v.	23	8	סָפַר	19	8	עשׂה	17	
ידה	37	14	בקשׁ	26	11	מרום	23	8	זה	19	0	חסיד	16	2
גדול	33	10	צרה	25	13	צבא	22	13	עולם	18	18	ישועה	16	1
גיל v.	32	16	קרא I.	25	11	סָלָה	22	5	ענה I.	16	18	עתה	15	2
כבוד	31	14	יָשַׁע	25	7	הוא	21	17	קדשׁ	18	18	יעקב	15	1
בשׂר	31	13	בָּרַךְ	24	20	נָגַד	21	11	חסד	18	14	ירא v.	15	1
הלל II.	31	7	עֵזר	24	18	חיה v.	20	10	נחלה	18	14	מעשׂה	15	1
בָּטַח	30	9	חסה	24	16	נצל	20	9	יהוה	18	11	אָשַׁר	15	1
שׁמים	28	7	רום	24	16	טוב adj.	20	6	אָדָם	18	10	מי	14	2
שָׂמַח	27	19	שׁם	24	14	כשפט	19	10	תהלה	17	14	דור	14	1
עליון	27	9	פָּלָא	24	7	ארני	19	29	אֵת prp.	17	9	אזן	14	1

The figures following the words are the percentages of the words' total occurrences found in "barren" and "very weak" verses respectively. Thus, for example, זמר occurs in the whole Psalter 41 times; of these, 18 (44 %) are in "barren" verses and 2 (5 %) are in "very weak" verses. In the percentages for הלל, חסד, עולם, the formulae הללו־יה (23 times) and חסדו לעולם כי (34 times) are disregarded.

If this list is compared with the general list of "common" words previously given, it will be noted that all the groups there are represented. The only words from group J (of uncertain value, because lying close to the arbitrary line between "common" and "rare" words) are מרום, זה, עתה.

Besides these, the only other words of doubtful importance are הוא, את, מי; but even these may have some significance.

All told, these 55 words (omitting the formulae named above) occur in the Psalter about 3,100 times. But of these יהוה furnishes nearly 700. Excluding these latter, these words make up about 13 % of the whole Psalter text (about 16 % with יהוה).

For reference, we may mention the words that just missed being included in the above list, viz.: כל, שָׁמַר, ער n., אור n., בן, ראה, יָשָׁר, אב, שָׁמַע, לב, אלהים.

Also, for reference, we note that among over twenty "common" words *not* found in "barren" verses are ברית, שאול, לבב, אֹהֶל; and that ירד, סבב, תחת, חרב, שָׁם, שָׁבַר are not found in either "barren" or "very weak" verses.

The distribution of the words in this test-list among the poems proves to be very unequal, as might be expected from the method used in isolating them. In poems having a sustained "liturgical" character they are relatively abundant, while in others they are notably few. Without taking space for the complete summary of the facts, we simply give the beginning and end of the series—those poems in which the proportion of these words is large, and those in which it is small, viz.:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
(Many)	—	—	—	—	150
	—	57	—	—	148
	—	67	—	—	136, 138
	—	—	—	—	145
	—	—	—	99	113
	—	—	—	—	115, 134
	24	—	86	97	149
	—	47	—	96	108
	30	54	—	—	118
	20	—	75	—	—
	21	—	—	100	117
	13, 33	52, 63	—	—	111, 135
	9	61	—	—	131
	8	56, 66	—	—	112
	34	48, 71	—	—	146
(Few)	6, 17	42, 51	—	—	141
	23, 41	55	81, 88	—	129, 139
	—	—	—	93	123
	39	53	—	94	132, 137
	1	—	—	—	114
	—	—	—	—	126, 127

The grading in the above table is derived by comparing the number of the test-words in each poem with the total text-length of the poem. יהוה, זה, את are omitted from the reckoning, as well as the formulae containing הלל, עולם, חסד. Greater weight is attached to the occurrences of words near the head of the test-list than of those near its foot.

Thus far the method of analysis used has been as mechanical as possible. But it is evident that now the factor of judgment must enter. For example, we have isolated a group of apparently critical words. But it is unlikely that every occurrence of these words is significant. Where a word has several fairly well

defined usages, the question arises as to which of them is to be emphasized. And it is possible that a few words may appear in the list by a literary accident. Indeed, the securing of the list rests upon the arbitrary distinction made at the outset between "common" and "rare" words. All that could be properly claimed for such a list as this is that it affords a preliminary working hypothesis or clue, the development of which requires both critical tact and the careful weighing of evidence.

Since we are relying upon "barren" verses as indices of a special vocabulary, it follows that only those uses of the words that are emphasized in such verses should be magnified. Below is the summary of the occurrences or uses of the words that appear to the writer to be significant:—

Words referring to jubilant praise: זמר, all; ידה, all; גיל, all. exc. 13:5; הלל, only to God, and exc. "Hallelujah" at opening or close of poems; שמח, only to God; ברך, only to God; רום, only to or of God; שיר, exc. 65:13; נגד, all, exc. 111:6; 147:19; ספר, only to God; ענה, only to God; תהלה, all.

Words referring to trustful dependence: בטח, only toward God; חסה, all; בקש, only toward God or good things; קרא, only toward God; ירא, only toward God, including Niph. ptc.

Words referring to God Himself, His attributes and deeds: שם, only of God; יהוה, all *omitted;* אדני, all; עליון, all, exc. 89:27; מלך, only of God; עשה, מעשה, only of God as Creator, etc.; מרום, only as God's sphere; שמים, only as God's creation or home; צבא, only of heaven; הוא, only of God; גדול, only of God or His works; טוב, only of God or His attributes; קדש, all; חסיד, all; כבוד, only of God, including 3:4; 57:9; 85:10; 108:2; צדקה, only of God; משפט, all, exc. 1:5; 9:5; 17:2; 35:23; 76:10; 112:5; 119:121, 132; 140:13; 143:2; 149:9; חסד, all, exc. 109:12, 16; 141:5, and many formulae, as in 136; פלא, all; ברך, only from God; ענה, only from God; אזן, only God's; עזר, all, exc. 22:12; 72:12; 107:12; ישע, only by God; ישועה, all; נצל, only by God; חיה, all, exc. 22:30; 49:10; 72:15; 89:49.

Various words, mostly referring to man or his experiences: אדם, all; בשר, only of "mankind," including 56:5; יעקב, all; נחלה, all, exc. 127:3; אשר, all; צרה, all; דור, all; עולם, all, exc. many formulae, as in 136; מי, all. זה, עתה, את, are all *omitted* as of doubtful importance.

When the distribution of these words (in the senses noted) is examined, we find that they are very widely disseminated through the collection, but are more frequent at certain spots than at others. If they afford any historical clue, they represent

some type of expression that affects most of the poems in part and some of them as wholes. Probably the selection of usages and occurrences here used is too liberal, so that single or scattered cases are not important. But where these words occur in relatively large numbers the passages require attention. It proves that about 500 verses contain at least two of these words (about one verse in five), and, of these, nearly 200 contain at least three of them (nearly one verse in twelve). But, inasmuch as the verses vary greatly in length, allowance needs to be made for this fact. In 78 verses these words constitute one-half or more of the text; in 419 verses they constitute one-quarter or more. The full list of these is a follows:—

2 : 4
3 : 5
5 : 12
6 : 5, 6
7 : 1, 18
9 : 2, 3, 8, 12, 15, 17
10 : 16
11 : 4
12 : 2, 8
13 : 6
14 : 7
15 : 1
17 : 6, 7
18 : 4, 32, 47, 50, 51
19 : 2
20 : 2, 7, 10
21 : 2, 8, 14
22 : 5, 22, 23
24 : 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
25 : 6, 20
26 : 7
27 : 7
28 : 7, 8, 9
29 : 2, 10
30 : 5, 13
31 : 2, 3, 8, 17, 22
32 : 10, 11
44 : 5, 9
45 : 3, 18
46 : 8, 12
47 : 3, 7, 8
48 : 2, 12
49 : 9, 12, 19
50 : 4, 6, 15
51 : 17
52 : 10, 11
53 : 7
54 : 3, 6, 8, 9
55 : 17
56 : 11
57 : 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12
59 : 3, 18
60 : 7, 11
61 : 5, 8, 9
62 : 3, 7, 13
63 : 3, 4, 5
64 : 10, 11
66 : 2, 4, 8, 17, 20
67 : 4, 6, 8
68 : 5, 19, 25, 27, 33, 36
69 : 7, 15, 17, 31, 33, 35
70 : 5
71 : 1, 2, 16, 17, 19
72 : 1, 5
73 : 5, 25, 28
74 : 12
75 : 2, 10
76 : 2, 8, 9, 11
77 : 8, 9, 14
78 : 4, 22, 71
79 : 9, 13
80 : 8, 19, 20
81 : 5, 8
83 : 17
84 : 5, 6, 9, 13
85 : 6, 7
86 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13
88 : 10, 11
89 : 2, 3, 5, 15, 17, 25, 27, 29, 50
90 : 1, 14
91 : 3, 15
92 : 2, 3, 5, 9
95 : 3, 5, 6
96 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11
97 : 1, 6, 8, 12
98 : 1, 2
99 : 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
100 : 3, 4, 5
107 : 1, 8, 15, 21, 24, 31, 32, 43
108 : 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11
109 : 21, 26, 30
111 : 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9
112 : 1, 2, 6
113 : 1, 2, 3, 4
115 : 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16
116 : 2, 4, 13, 17
117 : 2
118 : 1, 5, 8, 17, 21, 24, 26, 28, 29
119 : 7, 13, 26, 39, 40, 52, 62, 84, 88, 89, 90, 93, 120, 142, 144, 145, 146, 149, 156, 159, 160, 164, 175
120 : 1
121 : 2
124 : 8
125 : 1
130 : 2, 3
132 : 15
134 : 2, 3
135 : 1, 3, 12, 13
136 : 1, 4, 5, 7, 26
138 : 1, 2, 3, 5, 7
139 : 14
140 : 2, 8
141 : 1
142 : 3

33 : 2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 21
34 : 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 18
35 : 9, 17
36 : 6, 7, 8, 11
37 : 5, 18, 40
38 : 16
40 : 4, 6
101 : 1
102 : 13, 19, 20, 22, 26
103 : 1, 6, 17, 21, 22
104 : 31, 33
105 : 1,2,3,5,8,10
106 : 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 12,21,31,47
143 : 11
144 : 15
145 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21
146 : 2, 5, 6, 10
147 : 1, 7, 19, 20
148 : 1, 2, 3, 5, 13
149 : 1, 2, 3, 9
150 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

The distribution of these verses by Books is as follows:—I. 87 vv., 14.1 % (of total vv. in Bk.); II. 76 vv., 16.4 %; III. 52 vv., 14.6 %; IV. 60 vv., 18.8 %; V. 144 vv., 20.5 %.

Among these verses are 41 initial and 41 final verses. The list also includes refrain-verses in 46, 57, 80, 99, 107. In 17 cases these verses have סלה appended, and in 8 more סלה precedes.

So far as the proportion of these verses to the total number of verses in the several poems is a hint that they may belong somewhat completely to the type represented, the most likely cases are, in Bk. I, 24; in Bk. II, 47, 54, 57, 61, 67; in Bk. III, 86; in Bk. IV, 96, 99, 100; in Bk. V, 113, 115, 117, 118, 134, 138, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150. In several cases where poems are made up of two contrasted sections one of these shows a high proportion of these verses, as, for example, 28b, 36b, 102b, 144a.

This class of verses is absent from 26 poems, and very slightly found in several more, especially in 10, 19, 27, 35, 38, 51, 55, 74, 78, 83, 104, 132, 139. But in a very large number of poems there are considerable passages that are absolutely devoid of the words here being studied. The longest of these (each ten verses or more) are 105 : 24-41; 139 : 1-13; 44 : 9-19; 109 : 2-12; 45 : 8-17; 78 : 39-48; but reference to such cases is misleading, since many such "barren" passages are really much longer, the occurrence before or after them of one or two of the critical words being probably without significance. It seems hopeless to discuss the phenomena in detail, since that would involve notes upon the structure of most of the poems in the collection.

Thus far we have been advancing along a single line of induction. We first divided the Psalter vocabulary into two divisions, one of "common" words, the other of "rare" words. We then noted that certain verses are devoid of "rare" words. For these "barren" verses it proved that about one-quarter of the "common" words had a decided "preference," implying that these words had a tendency to appear in conjunction with each other or with other "common" words. After some sifting of the usages of these critical words, we noted certain points

about their distribution through the poems. The next step, obviously, is to remark upon the general critical and historical conclusions toward which these phenomena may be thought to point.

But, before doing this, it is proper to say that several other similar accumulations of statistics might have been introduced. For example, instead of confining ourselves to the "common" words, we might have taken the "moderately rare" words (occurring in 5-12 poems), and noted those that "prefer" verses that are "very weak" or "weak." This would have yielded another critical list of perhaps 70 words. Many of these have unmistakable connection with those already before us. Again, it would be possible to make up another list by massing together the various words that show a marked tendency to associate with the "common" words upon which emphasis has been laid. Still other processes are conceivable.

To introduce further details here would necessitate greatly increasing a statement that is already long and complicated. To the writer this increase seems unnecessary, since, in his opinion, no important new factor would appear, though much that is corroborative of what is here emphasized might be indicated. The principal value of such other studies as have just been suggested has been to him to strengthen the belief that the main method followed has validity and utility. But it is probable that his own interpretations of the material are slightly influenced by facts that are not here given in detail.

The method used in drafting the critical word-list justifies us in supposing that it is connected with some general, widely diffused characteristic of the Psalter. The words that are most "common" must have some correspondence to ideas and sentiments that are pervasive. A minute study of the distribution of these critical words confirms this *à priori* supposition, though, at the same time, it shows that the distribution is not uniform. In some poems the critical words are so many and so scattered that we infer that the whole poem belongs to the class which they represent. In other poems these words are either extremely few or are so oddly disposed in relation to other matter that

we infer either (a) that the whole poem belongs to another class, or (b) that two or more heterogeneous portions have been editorially united, or (c) that detached verses have been inserted into poems that were originally without them.

It is natural to call the type of expression before us "liturgical." It is strongly marked by verbs of liturgical action or sentiment, as well as by many formulae or phrases that suggest liturgical habits or are suitable for actual liturgical application. This is particularly noticeable in the poems in which the critical words are most abundant. We may even observe that this type, as emphasized in the Psalter, has been potent in directing liturgical usage throughout Christian history, serving as both source and model of expression.

Even without going much beyond the range of passages to which our word-list has led us, it is possible to say that this type of expression is associated with certain main concepts or ideas. Its prevailing tone is buoyant and confident, even exuberant. It holds up the notion of God as a supreme King, powerful, glorious and exalted, so imperial as to call forth the height of reverence and adoration, but also a ruler whose relations to men are so benign and generous that He evokes heartfelt trust and loyalty. He is praised not only for what He is, but for what He does, especially for His function as Deliverer and Protector. Yet there is not much sign of definite dwelling upon the particular classes of ill from which He rescues those who trust Him. Neither penitence nor dejection over misfortune are specially expressed. It is possible to say that there is a tendency to universalistic statements, the sweep of which would probably be lessened if details were magnified. Hence the ease with which most of these expressions can be transferred to all periods and conditions of worship. There is slight explicit reference to history, and hardly any trace of the didactic or homiletic spirit. Whether the term "liturgical" is the best for this type of expression, or whether the foregoing attempt to trace some of its salient qualities is apt, it seems plain that this type has decided individuality, so much so that it becomes a striking factor in the whole problem of the Psalter. Indeed, its existence is universally recognized in commentation,

though its scope and contents are not usually approached in the way here chosen.

Now, for purposes of criticism, it is of much importance to ask whether this type of expression, with all that it involves, is so inherent in the whole of the literary output that gave rise to Psalter poetry as to be simply an aspect of it, or whether it represents one stage or period in the development of that poetry.

It seems to the writer that the weight of evidence is on the side of the latter supposition. At least, it seems worth while to test this supposition as carefully as possible. Accordingly, we now take up some facts that make it plausible.

At later points in these Studies it will be argued that, by processes analogous to that here used, it is possible to designate two or three other distinct types of expression in the Psalter, each with its own characteristic vocabulary, phraseological tendency, and general thought-content. Although recognizing the possibility of regarding all these as purely psychological aspects of the general impulse that called forth all Psalter poetry, the writer has come to feel that for these contrasted aspects of thought and sentiment it is natural and necessary to conjecture varying historic conditions and hence to conjecture for them some chronological sequence. This special line of investigation, then, connects itself with all the various efforts, which are almost universal in recent commentation, to draft a hypothesis as to how the Psalter was progressively built up out of groups of material that originated at different times, perhaps separated by considerable intervals, and under different conditions, perhaps somewhat opposed in character.[4]

In a general way, the mere fact of the diffusion of this "liturgical" material in the Psalter favors the presumption that it is comparatively late, or, at least, belongs to the time of the final editing rather than to any earlier time, if such time is

[4] Throughout the present discussion the writer has not undertaken to give references to the innumerable points of connection between the matters here presented and the great body of modern commentaries, simply because of the magnitude of such an effort and because, for those familiar with the literature, it is needless.

to be provided for, when were drafted certain poems that remained in use in such a way as ultimately to demand inclusion in the collection. It is not likely that a pervading element would belong to any but one of the later stages of a prolonged process of accumulation. Yet this argument is manifestly not of great force, certainly by itself.

In a general way, also, the fact that this material is "liturgical" in just the way it is may be regarded as associating it with the later stages of the process of making a service-book for some sort of practical use. The Psalter cannot be supposed to be simply a poetic anthology, compiled for literary purposes, nor simply a book of devotional readings. The preservation of its materials, the sifting of them, their shaping into their present form, and, finally, their adoption into the recognized canon, presuppose that they were associated with some stated religious use that gave them exceptional importance, dignity, and even sanctity. With all this agrees the evidence of the various rubrics and captions that accompany the poems. If, then, we are dealing with a body of liturgical literature, we should expect that running through the whole would be strains that are "liturgical." If we go further, and suppose that the whole collection is made up of poems consciously composed for a liturgical use of some definite sort, then we may even say that the case calls for no argument whatever, since, of course, the purpose would declare itself throughout. It is very doubtful, however, whether we are in any position to say just what was the primary purpose of this type of poetry, certainly to say it with such positiveness and definiteness as to permit us to hold that what we are now considering is an inevitable feature of the whole process. Until we are sure of our history we must be careful about presuppositions. In this case we are forced to rely largely upon internal evidence for our historical hypotheses, and it is begging the question to assume that which is to be proved.

We are probably assisted to a just conclusion by certain facts. It is clear that the type of expression to which our test-list of words points is most fully exemplified in Bks. IV-V, especially in the series 96-100 in the former, and in the two

Hallels in the latter. If it were not for the inclusion in these books of certain poems that are more or less unique (and which, therefore, present distinct problems by themselves), like 90, 91, 104, 119, 137, 139, with the whole series known as "Songs of Ascents," and representatives of classes elsewhere prominent (such as 94, 101, 105, 106, 114, 140, 141), these Books would show an overwhelming preponderance of this type of expression as compared with other Books. By general consent, the so-called "Greek Hallel" (146-150) is counted as late, and it is just here that our test-words are remarkably numerous. By general consent, also, the doxologies that are appended to Bks. I-IV are late, and these, if they had been included in our enumeration, would have been "strong" in the test-words.

Again, we note that several poems, outside of Bks. IV-V, present such lexical affinities with the poems within these Books that exemplify the type of expression before us that we may well suppose them to belong to the same general class. Striking instances are 24b, most of 33, 47, 57, much of 66, 67, 86, besides sections or passages elsewhere. All these offer such contrasts in both form and content to their surroundings as to suggest that they have been interpolated into the series where they stand. If this be plausible, then the type they represent must be subsequent to the type or types with which they are in contrast.

Again, a similar remark applies to the numerous cases in which initial or final verses, either of whole poems or of somewhat distinct sections, present our characteristic type of expression. These seem to be *imposed* upon the main structure of the poems in many cases, often with an apparent purpose to make the latter either more generally useful or less objectionable (by a "euphemistic" coloring).[5]

The most plausible cases are 7 : 18; 9 : 2-3; 13 : 6-7; 14 : 7 = 53 : 7; 18 : 50-51; 20 : 10; 21 : 14; 28 : 6-9; 29 : 1-2, 10-11; 30 : 13; 32 : 10-11; 34 : 2-5; 45 : 18; 48 : 2; 52 : 10-11; 59 : 17-18; 63 : 12; 64 : 10-11; 66 : 16-20; 68 : 36; 72 : 17; 73 : 28; 75 : 2, 10; 79 : 13; 80 : 19 (final before refrain); 83 : 19; 84 : 13; 89 : 2-3; 92 : 2-5; 101 : 1; 105 : 1-?; 106 : 1-3, 47; 109 : 30-31;

[5] See Grimm: *Euphemistic Appendices*, pp. 8, 22.

with many others that are uncertain. Note that only a very few of these lie in Bks. IV-V. If among these are instances of imposed antiphons, the implication is that the process of emendation affected Bks. I-III, which, therefore, were earlier in existence.

Probably a similar remark might be made about refrain-verses, though the number of clear instances is small.

The best cases for our theory are 42(-43), 46, 80, 107. In 57 the refrains seem to be simply a part of the general texture. In 42 one may argue forcibly that the refrains (like the interpolated Yahwistic v. 9) are euphemistic in intent.

Whatever be the etymological sense of סלה, it is clear that in a great majority of cases it serves to mark a separation between sections—somewhat equivalent in effect to the modern typographical device of inserting extra "leads," perhaps with a "rule," so that the eye is immediately guided to the intended partition of the text. One is led to wonder whether in some cases it is not the sign of an insertion or similar interference in the text. If so, the verses preceding and following may be regarded as initials or finals.

In the lists on pp. 88 f. the following verses are *succeeded* by סלה: 3:5; 9:17; 24:6, 10; 44:9; 46:8, 12; 50:6; 57:4; 61:5; 66:4; 68:33; 81:8; 84:5, 9; 88:11; 89:5—all, naturally, in Bks. I-III, since the use of this term is almost confined to these Books. In the LXX the term is also appended to 50:15; 80:8.

The following verses are *preceded* by סלה: 54:6; 57:8; 60:7; 66:8; 67:6; 76:11; 84:6; 89:50.

In a number of cases the poems of the collection have the look of being compounded of two or more sections of diverse character. Judgments may differ widely as to the exact limits of these, and still more as to the theory to account for them. For purposes of rough comparison, however, we may safely note some examples as tending to support the general argument before us. Fully to discuss the facts would require far more space than is available.

The percentages in the following table show the proportion of the test-words to the text-length of the sections indicated:

18:	a. 2-4	19 %	36:	a. 2-5	0 %	90:	a. 1-12	7 %
	b. 5-16	4 „		b. 6-13	18 „		b. 13-17	8 „
	c. 17-25	5 „						
	d. 26-46	5 „	42:	a. 2-5, 7-8, 10-11	0 %	102:	a. 2-12	4 %
	e. 47-51	25 „		b. 6, 9, 12	11 „		b. 13-23	15 „
							c. 24-29	11 „
19:	a. 2-7	10 %	44:	a. 2-9	15 %			
	b. 8-15	4 „		b. 10-27	2 „	106:	a. 1-5, 47	29 %
							b. 6-46	5 „
22:	a. 2-12	13 %	50:	a. 1-15	9 %			
	b. 13-22	4 „		b. 16-23	2 „	108:	a. 2-6 (= 57)	30 %
	c. 23-32	13 „					b. 7-14 (= 60)	11 „
			60:	a. 3-6	0 %			
27:	a. 1-6	8 %		b. 7-11	12 „	108:	a. 1-20	2 %
	b. 7-14	6 „		c. 12-14	10 „		b. 21-31	18 „
28:	a. 1-5	5 %	74:	a. 1-11	4 %	144:	a. 1-11	12 %
	b. 6-9	27 „		b. 12-23	5 „		b. 12-15	5 „
29:	a. 1-2, 10-11	22 %						
	b. 3-9	4 „	89:	a. 2-5	28 %			
				b. 6-19	6 „			
				c. 20-38	15 „			
				d. 39-52	5 %			

Although these data are not uniformly clear, their general trend is that sections that are likely to be the earlier are weaker in test-words, and *vice versa*. But it may be that other factors than those now before us enter into the problem in some cases.

There is another line of argument, which is hard to carry out in full, and the exact bearing of which is open to debate, but which, nevertheless, should be mentioned. Some thirty of the test-words are very unequally distributed through the Old Testament books, at least in the senses noted. On the whole, the evidence favors the general view here emphasized. No doubt, some cases are to be explained by supposing that the Psalms are directly influenced by the knowledge and use of antecedent literature. But, especially as regards the words of praise, there is room for the supposition that in some cases "liturgical" antiphons have been inserted in antecedent texts, just as such antiphons seem to have been inserted in certain Psalms. If this latter supposition is correct, even in a comparatively few instances, it has a bearing upon the date of such emendations in general, since, whatever view may be held as to the *terminus ad quem* in the process of text-alteration

that is supplied by the LXX for the Psalter, it cannot well be as late nor as uncertain for the Pentateuch or the Prophecies.

Without venturing to give great weight to this matter it is worth while to give some statistics, as they concern this discussion. It is plain, however, that there may be much difference of opinion as to just what passages should be cited under particular usages of the words. The figures of the following table

	Gn	Ex	Lv	Nu	Dt	Jos	Jg	Sa	Kg	Is[1]	Is[2]	Jer	Ezk	Ho	Jl	Am
זמר	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
חסיד	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
חסה	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
ידה	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	—	1	—	—	—	—
עליון	4	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
רום	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	4	2	—	—	—	—	—
חסד	5	4	—	2	3	—	—	5	3	—	5	5	—	1	1	—
הלל	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	4	3	—	—	—	—
פלא	—	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
אשר	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
ישועה	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	4	—	8	11	—	—	—	—	—
גדול	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	1	—	—	—
מלך	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	3	5	—	—	—	—
תהלה	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	11	5	—	—	—	—
קרא	5	—	—	—	4	—	2	2	4	1	6	5	1	1	2	—
ברך	4	1	—	—	1	1	2	4	7	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
צדקה	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	5	13	2	—	—	—	—
גיל	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	6	—	—	1	2	—
מרום	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	3	2	—	—	—	—
עזר	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
בטח	—	—	—	—	1	—	5	—	9	5	4	16	2	1	—	1
אזן	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	2	2	1	1	—	1	—	—	—
שמח	—	—	1	—	8	—	—	5	2	3	3	4	—	—	2	1
שמים	13?	4	—	—	6	1	—	2	18	1	15	4	2	—	2	—
שיר	—	3	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	1	1	1	—	—	—
צרה	3	—	—	—	2	—	1	4	2	3	3	8	—	—	—	—
כבוד	—	9	2	6	1	1	—	4	1	6	12	4	19	2	—	—
בקש	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	3	2	—	4	—	1
בשר	12?	—	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	6	4	4	—	1	—
צבא	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	4	56	6	82	—	1	—	9

represent a careful attempt to sift the occurrences of each word under the restrictions of meaning given on p. 94.

In the table the words are taken in the order of the ratios between the number of occurrences within the Psalter and the total number outside of it. The first sixteen words all occur more times (in the senses considered) in the Psalter than in all the other books together. The last two words are much more frequent in the other books than in the Psalter.

Ob	Jon	Mi	Na	Hb	Zp	Hg	Zc	Mal	Pr	Job	Ru	La	Dn	Ezr	Neh	Chr	Ps
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	25
—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	25
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	3	11	67
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	21
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	33
—	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	2	2	2	1	3	4	10	127
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	18	61
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	2	—	1	—	—	28
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	26
—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	45
—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	1	25
—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	29
—	4	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	6	—	1	—	—	—	3	51
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	5	—	—	4	1	3	11	47
—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	29
—	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	11
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	13
—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	10	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	46
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	3	11
1	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	—	13	1	—	2	—	2	3	8	39
—	1	—	—	1	—	2	1	1	2	6	—	4	—	1	—11	10	60
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	6	17	14	26
2	1	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	7	2	—	—	1	—	2	2	24
—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	34
—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	3	—	8	11
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	4
—	—	1	2	1	2	—	14	53	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	16

In this table, no account is made of the doublets in Is. 36-38a and in Chr. with passages already noted in Kgs. ברך is taken only when addressed *to* God, and צבא only when in divine titles.

As examples of the peculiar distribution of these words among the several books, note that in Gen. about one-half of the cases are in chs. 9, 14, 24, 49; in Ex. two-thirds of the cases are in chs. 15, 16, 20, 33, 34 (15 alone has over one-quarter); in Num. over one-third are in ch. 14, and one-quarter more in chs. 11, 16; in Deut. two-thirds are in chs. 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 26, 32, 33 (nearly one-quarter in the last two); in Is^1., out of 61 cases (omitting צבא), 31 are in chs. 12 (9 cases), 25, 26, 30, 33, with 18 more in chs. 5, 6, 14, 24, 35, 38b, while there are none whatever in chs. 15-23; in Mic., out of 11 cases, 7 are in ch. 7, 2 in ch. 6, and 1 each in chs. 4, 5; in Hab. 5 out of 8 cases are in ch. 3 (poem); etc.

If we disregard צבא, and allow for the varying length of the books, Is^2 shows decidedly the largest proportions of these words (in the meanings considered), followed by Neh., Prov., Is^1, Jer., Ezra, Job, Chr., and Deut., in rapidly decreasing proportions.

It remains to say that the whole view of the material here presented needs to be brought into connection with other material to be set forth in later divisions of these Studies. In particular, no good conclusions can be reached regarding the "liturgical" material without examining its relations to the materials characteristic of the "David" poems. Something also depends upon the view taken of the materials characteristic of the Elohistic poems. Hence it is necessary to extend the method to these other fields.

The Visions of Zechariah

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THE Book of Zechariah consists of two different parts: the first, comprising cc. 1-8, was written about the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis; the second, including cc. 9-14, is Maccabean. The Visions of Zechariah extend from 1 7 to 6 15. The first six verses of the Book represent a secondary theological introduction. Nor can the appendix to the Visions in cc. 7 and 8 be ascribed to Zechariah, except Zech. 8 4-8 which must be appended to 2 5-9, whereas 8 1-3 is a variant to 1 14-16; the two sections 8 9-17 as well as 7 1-3 + 8 18 19a + 7 4-6 + 8 19b contain poems of Haggai, and 7 7-14 is the sequel to the theological introduction in 1 1-6; the final section 8 20-23 is a later addition to 8 4-8.

After the assassination of Pseudo-Smerdis on September 29, 522,[1] there were rebellions in Susiana, Babylonia, Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, and other provinces of the Persian empire. Darius had to fight for nearly a year and a half before his authority was established throughout his kingdom. Some prov-

[1] See F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig, 1911) p. 19 and p. LXXII; contrast Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii, p. 194 (Oct. 16, 521). Cf. also Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 33, l. 17, and ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 22. According to Riessler (see n. 13) p. 225, Zechariah began to prophesy in November, 537. Riessler (p. 213) thinks that Darius is Cambyses, and that Zerubbabel is identical with Nehemiah; Zerubbabel-Nehemiah was the first Persian governor of Judea; the date of Zechariah's visions is February, 536 (p. 226). The statement that the earth was quiet and peaceful (Zech. 1 11) refers, according to Riessler, to the peaceful period in the Persian empire after the accession of Cyrus.—For the abbreviations, ZDMG, OLZ, EB, &c, see vol. 31 of this JOURNAL, p. 115, n. 2.

inces revolted two or three times.[2] The Jewish patriots hoped that fresh outbreaks would give them a chance to restore their national independence, and make the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel,[3] king of Judah. But their expectations were not realized: there was no sign of any fresh uprising. Zechariah expresses this in the form of a vision.[4] He says he saw by night a man among the myrtles in the bottom of the valley,[5] and before him were sorrel, black, white, and gray horses[6] which reported

[2] Cf. § 49 of the Behistûn Inscription (Weissbach, *op. cit.* p. 55).

[3] Zerubbabel, it may be supposed, was born in Babylonia about 538; see n. 1 on my paper *Davids und Christi Geburtsort* in OLZ 12, 67. The name Zerubbabel seems to mean *Grief for Babel;* cf. Assyr. *zurub libbi* = Syr. ܙܪܘܥ ܒܒܠ. The Syriac Bible has ܙܪܘܒܒܒܠ, with *u* after the initial *z*. This name may have meant originally *Sorrow over Babel*; afterwards it may have been interpreted to mean *He who will inflict distress upon Babel*, who will cause Babel to suffer.

[4] This is merely a literary device; cf. my remarks in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 177, l. 37. Geo. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii (London, 1898) p. 274 says, In Zech. 1 7—6 15 we have not the narrative of actual dreams, but a series of conscious and artistic allegories. On the other hand, E. Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 88 says that we have no reason for assuming that Zechariah did not actually see his visions.

[5] This, it may be supposed, is the deep depression of the Kidron Valley which separates the rocky plateau of Jerusalem from the ridge of Mount Olivet. Cheyne (EB 2662) says that opposite St. Stephen's Gate, N of the Temple area, the depth is fully 100 feet, and the breadth not more than 400 feet. The olive-trees in the bottom are so thickly clustered as to form a shady grove. This spot is shut out from the city, from the view of public roads, and from the notice and interruption of wayfarers.—There may have been a similar myrtle grove. The myrtle grows wild in many of the glens about Jerusalem. It is found on bare hillsides and by watercourses in beautiful green clumps. The myrtle is an evergreen shrub which is usually from 3 to 4 feet high, but occasionally, in moist soil, it attains a height of 8 feet. In ancient times a brook flowed down the Kidron Valley; but now the bed of the streamlet is dry except when heavy rains are falling on the mountains around Jerusalem. Cf. EB 2662, 3247; DB 3, 465[a].

[6] The fiery *sorrel* (representing the meridian blaze of the sun) corresponds to the south, *black* to the north, *white* to the east, and *gray* to the west (the gray of the evening). For *white* = east, cf. French *aube* and Lat. *albente caelo, albescente die.* We must read שרקים שחרים לבנים וברדים; cf. 6 2 3. In 1 9 אדמים is a prefixed gloss to שרקים; in 6 2 this

that they had traversed the earth, and had found it quiet and peaceful. JHVH, however, assures the prophet that He has not forgotten Jerusalem; the Temple will be rebuilt, and the plumb-line suspended[7] over Jerusalem: everything that is out of plumb will be straightened.

Here we must append the statement which is now combined with another misplaced prediction concerning Zerubbabel in c. 4. Zechariah concluded his first patriotic address with the assurance: Zerubbabel's hands have laid the foundation of this Temple, his hands will also finish it. Whoever has despised the day of small things will rejoice and see the plummet[8] in the hands of Zerubbabel. He will rebuild the Temple and the City, and straighten everything that is out of plumb.

The power of the Persians in all four quarters of the earth will be broken. Angels are appointed by JHVH, who will lead the rebellions against the Persian king in the east, west, north, and south. The prophet says he saw four horns which had shattered Judah and Jerusalem; but four smiths came to lop off[9] the four horns. One of them was the guardian angel of Judah,[10] who would help Zerubbabel in his attempt to free the Chosen People from the Persian dominion.

Some of the Jewish patriots, however, were afraid they would be unable to resist the Persians, since Jerusalem was a city

gloss has displaced the original reading שרקים (cf. JBL 26, 25, *ad* 1 11). Similarly אמצים is a gloss to ברדים in 6 3. According to Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 37, 49, 52, the colors אדמים שרקים ולבנים all refer to the rising light of the morning, and point to the dawn of Messianic salvation; similarly the myrtles point to the vernal sun. Cf. below, n. 47.

7 Lit. *stretched*. When the plummet is suspended, the line is stretched. Heb. קו denotes here a *plumb-line*, not a *tape-line*. The *measuring line* is called חבל המדה in 2 5. In the present passage the Vulgate renders correctly, *perpendiculum extendetur super Jerusalem*.

8 האבן before הבדיל in 4 10 is a gloss as is also האבן before הראשה in 4 7.

9 We must read לנגד instead of ליהוה, and להכרית instead of להחריד; this, however, is merely a prefixed gloss to לנגד; החריד for הכרית is a phonetic corruption; see JBL 31, 135, l. 8.

10 See Dan. 10 13 21 12 1; cf. Wellhausen's notes on the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 176, l. 36.

with no walls and but few inhabitants, therefore insignificant. The prophet, however, assures them, Jerusalem need not be a frowning citadel to inspire respect; JHVH's presence will give it sufficient importance; He will be like a wall of fire around it, and the population will increase so rapidly that the space within the city walls would be too small. Therefore Jerusalem is to be inhabited as a large open village. The prophet presents this again in the form of a vision: he saw a young man who was going to measure Jerusalem, but an angel told him to desist from this unnecessary undertaking.

In this connection we find two poetic quotations illustrating the increase of Jerusalem's population. In the first a poet bids the Jews, scattered all over the world, to return to Zion:

2, 10 Ho, ho, flee ye from the land of the north!
Though I spread you abroad in all four quarters;
11 To Zion escape ye who dwell in Babel!

The second poetic quotation, separated from the first by 2 12 13, which should be appended to the First Vision, 1 7-17, reads:

2, 14 Sing out, and rejoice, maid Zion!
lo, I come to dwell within thee.
15 Many nations will join themselves,
and thus become people of JHVH.
16 He will claim, as His portion, Judah,
and choose again Jerusalem.

The first quotation is a triplet with 2 + 2 beats in each line; the second, a triplet with 3 + 3 beats. Both, it may be supposed, were originally added in the margin to 6 15 at the end of the First Vision (1 7-17 + 4 9 10 + 6 15 + 2 12 13).

The Jewish patriots hoped that, with the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the national independence of Judah, the moral character of the community would be elevated. The prophet says he saw an enormous flying scroll containing curses which would strike every one who stole or swore falsely. This moral regeneration will be helped by the elimination of all foreign elements, especially Babylonian idolatries. Let them go back to Babylonia whence they came! The prophet says

he saw a bushel enclosing a woman[11] representing Wickedness, *i. e.* departure from the Mosaic Law.[12] Two winged female creatures lifted up the bushel, and carried it to Babylonia.[13]

The general uprising against Persia is at hand. Soon the angels,[10] who are to lead the rebellions in the east, and west, and north, and south,[14] will start on their chariots from a central place in Cœlesyria, between Lebanon and Antilebanon,[15] to place

[11] This may have been an image of Astarte; cf. p. 110 of the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, also Jer. 7 18 44 17. The bushel may have been suggested by a shrine of the goddess; see the illustration facing p. 78 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible. *Bushel* is connected with *box*, and German *Scheffel* is related to *Schaff*, perhaps also to *Schiff*.

[12] See my remarks on the meaning of רשעים in Ps. 1 1, AJSL 19, 138, n. 32. In the Maccabean period רשעים denoted the Hellenizers; at the time of Zechariah it was used of the Babylonizers. The Seleucidan kingdom was the *Daughter of Babylon;* see my explanation of Ps. 137 in OLZ 10, 66, n. 13. Luther renders, *Das ist die gottlose Lehre.* Doederlein said in Grotius' *Annotationes in VT* (Halle, 1776): רשע *saepe idolatriam significat ... post exilium cultus idolorum penitus rejectus e Palaestina et quasi in exilium perpetuum missus.*

[13] Professor Riessler, of Tübingen, in his book *Die kleinen Propheten* (Rottenburg, 1911) p. 237 translates Zech. 5 7 8: *Siehe, da war ein Nest für Gazellenjunge aufgebaut, und siehe, da saß ein Weibchen inmitten von Mißgeburten da. Da sprach er: Das ist eine schlimme Mutter, und er streckte sie inmitten der Mißgeburten nieder.* This remarkable production has received the sanction of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Württemberg. Riessler, however, has one emendation which is at least partially correct *inmitten der Mißgeburten:* he reads in 2 12: אל חַוּת רֹב כבוד שלחני, *um große Herrlichkeit zu verkünden sandte er mich;* he considers אחר an abbreviation for אל חוות רב. We must read שלחני כבדו לחַוּת, *to proclaim His glory has He sent me*, and this is a tertiary gloss to 2 15b. I made this emendation before I was aware of the fact that Professor Riessler read לחַוּת, and I adhere to it despite this alarming coincidence.

[14] We must read in 6 6: הסוסים השחרים יצאים אל ארץ הצפון והלבנים יצאים אל ארץ המערב והברדים יצאים אל ארץ הקדם והשרקים יצאים אל ארץ התימן; יצאים after הברדים appears in the received text after והאמצים at the beginning of v. 7; והאמצים is a misplaced erroneous gloss to והברדים. According to Duhm, *Die Zwölf Propheten* (Tübingen, 1910) p. 92, the black horses go to the north, the white ones to the west, the spotted ones to the south, and the sorrels do not start at all.

[15] In the Babylonian Nimrod epic (cf. ZDMG 64, p. 712, n. 2) this region is called the mountain of *Mâš* (cf. מש, Gen. 10 23). There, at the

themselves at the head of the armies attacking the Persians. The prophet says that he saw four chariots, with sorrel, black, white, and gray horses,[6] between the two mountains,[15] going forth to[16] the four winds of heaven to make a stand against[17] the lord of the whole earth, *i. e.* the Persian king.[18] The fight will begin in the north. JHVH will satisfy His fury[19] on the north country.

The crown[20] for the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel, is ready. The prophet says, he was ordered by JHVH to take silver and gold,

end of the world, is the gate through which the sun passes at his rising and setting. It is guarded by a terrific scorpion-man and his wife; see the cut in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, on the plate facing p. 1, fig. 6. Cf. KAT[3], 573, n. 5; Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Straßburg, 1906) p. 24; Ungnad and Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 40, 136. The two mountains cannot be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; they are *mountains of brass*. There are still traces of ancient copper mines in the Lebanon.—If the clause *the mountains are mountains of brass* is a gloss, the two mountains, between which Zechariah saw the four chariots, may be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; but the glossator referred *the two mountains* to Lebanon and Antilebanon.

[16] The omission of the preposition אל after אֵלַי אלה is due to haplography; cf. Assyr. *ana erbîti šârê*, e. g. in l. 156 of the Flood Tablet.

[17] The phrase העמדים על אדון כל הארץ, at the end of c. 4, must be interpreted in the same way; cf. Dan. 8 25 11 14. For התיצב על cf. Jer. 46 4, Job 33 5. In Ps. 2 2 it is better to read יתיעצו instead of יתיצבו; see JHUC, No. 163, p. 90[b]. For מהתיצב in the present passage we must read להתיצב; in Cant. 6 9, on the other hand, we must read מאמה—מיולדתה instead of לאמה—ליולדתה; cf. AJSL 19, 7; Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 48, n. 12.

[18] Darius calls himself *king of the vast earth;* see Weissbach (cf. n. 1) p. 83, § 1; p. 87, § 2; p. 101, § 2; p. 103, § 2; p. 105, § 2; cf. ראש על ארץ רבה, Ps. 110 6 (AJSL 23, 232). Cf. also Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii, § 13.

[19] For רוח, *wrath*, cf. Jud. 8 3, Prov. 29 11 (read בחרנו ישבח; cf. בו החתת, *thou hast broken it*, Is. 9 3, and the باء المجاز, WdG 2, 160, A). For הניחו (or rather והניחו) cf. Ezek. 16 42 24 13. Perles' emendation הפיחו is gratuitous. Duhm (cf. n. 14) p. 92 renders, *Sie haben meinen Geist im Nordlande niedergelassen.* Grotius (cf. n. 12) has correctly, *ibi iram meam contra Chaldaeos susceptam abunde satiarunt.*

[20] The ו in עטרות is dittography of the ר; cf. my explanation of מצור =מצר, *Miççaru* in ZDMG 64, 710, n. 2, l. 11.

which had been brought by some Jewish exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem, and make a crown. He was to tell them:

6, 12 Behold a man named Scion,
13 royal majesty will he assume,
And sit and rule on his throne,
he will also be priest at my right.[21]

There was no reference to the high-priest Joshua. Zerubbabel was to be king and high-priest after the manner of Melchizedek, as we read in Psalm 110 4 which was composed at that time. An enthusiastic follower of Zerubbabel says there:

He swore and will not revoke: Thy throne is for ever,
And for ever shalt thou be priest like unto Melchizedek.

In the received text the hemistich *Thy throne is for ever* has been suppressed. The priests were not interested in the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the national independence of Judah; they were satisfied to continue as a religious sect.[22] Therefore they have suppressed all allusions to Zerubbabel's coronation as much as possible. In the line *royal majesty will he assume* the word *royal* has been eliminated,[23] and

[21] The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

6, 13.12b הִנֵּה־אִישׁ צֶמַח שְׁמוֹ ׀ וְהוּא־יִשָּׂא הוֹד מַלְכוּת
וְיָשַׁב וּמָשַׁל עַל־כִּסְאוֹ וְהָיָה כֹהֵן לִימִינוֹ׃

The Greek Bible (ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ) read לימינו. The gloss ומתחתיו יצמח means, *There will be scions from him;* he will be the founder of a new dynasty.

[22] See W. Robertson Smith, *The OT in the Jewish Church* (London, 1892) p. 45; cf. EB 2257, 62.

[23] The text of Is. 9 5 was originally

וְתִהְיִ עַל־רַאשׁוֹ עֲטֶרֶת הַמִּשְׂרָה

See my remarks cited above, in n. 3. In Is. 9 3, on the other hand, we must read:

כִּי־אֶת־עֻלַּ סִבְלוֹ וְאֶת־מַטֵּ הַשְּׁכָמוֹ
שֵׁבֶט הַנֹּגֵשׂ בּוֹ הַחִתָּת׃

Both סִבְלוֹ, *they were forced to carry*, and הַשְּׁכָמוֹ, *they were forced to shoulder* (Ethiop. አልከሙ፡) are relative clauses. Cf. above, n. 19 and Haupt, *Micah*, p. 51, n. 30 (AJSL 27, 51). At the end of Zech. 6 a statement such as יתן יהוה אתכם עליונים על כל גויי הארץ (cf. Deut. 28 1) has been suppressed. The last paragraph of the Book of Haggai (Hag. 2 20-23) stood originally at the end of the first chapter; there it was suppressed by the priests, and subsequently appended at the end of the Book.

throughout this section the name of the high-priest, *Joshua,* has been substituted for the name of the Davidic scion, *Zerubbabel.*

This is well known to all Old Testament critics, but no one has perceived that the same change has been made in c. 3. In the received text we read that the prophet saw Joshua arraigned before the messenger of JHVH; but it was not the high-priest Joshua, but the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel, and he was not arraigned before the messenger of JHVH, but before the envoy of the king.

We know that soon after Zechariah had announced the coronation of Zerubbabel,[24] the satrap of Babylonia and Syria, Vištana,[25] came to Jerusalem to investigate the charges that had been preferred against Judah in connection with the building of the Temple and the proposed coronation of Zerubbabel. In the received text of the Book of Ezra (cc. 4-6) the references to the coronation of Zerubbabel are suppressed; we read only of the charges in connection with the rebuilding of the Temple; but the chief object of the visit of the satrap was no doubt the proposed coronation of the Davidic scion. The enemies of the Jews had certainly not failed to apprise the satrap of the impending rebellion. Many Jewish patriots no doubt looked forward to the coming of the satrap with grave apprehensions;[26] but the prophet says he had a vision in which the envoy of the king[27] rebuked the public prosecutor who preferred the charges against Zerubbabel. He orders his attendants to invest the Davidic scion with royal robes, and place a diadem on his head.[28] He quashes the indictment of the country on the first

[24] Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums* (Halle, 1896) p. 87, n. 3; *Geschichte des Altertums,* vol. iii (Stuttgart, 1901) p. 195, below.

[25] The name תתני (Ezr. 5 3 6 6 6 13) is a corruption of ושתני; see Haupt, *Esther* (Chicago, 1908) p. 9 (AJSL 24, 105).

[26] J. D. Michaelis says in his *Deutsche Übersetzung des AT,* part 11 (Göttingen, 1782) p. 186: *Dies Machen der Kronen ist wirklich etwas dreist, denn es hätte können als Anfang einer Rebellion gegen den persischen Staat ausgelegt werden.*

[27] We must read in 6 1: מלאך המלך instead of מלאך יהוה, and in v. 2: יגער אדני בך instead of יגער יהוה בך. In v. 6 the reading מלאך יהוה is correct.

[28] We must read at the end of v. 4: וְהַלְבְּשׁוּ אתו מלכות; cf. Esth. 5 1 (Haupt, *Esther,* p. 43 = AJSL 24, 139). The investment with royal robes

day[29] of the trial for high treason, handing to Zerubbabel a tablet pronouncing his acquittal.

Then the angel of JHVH steps forward, and assures Zerubbabel that, if he will observe the religion of JHVH, He will give him royal rank;[30] Zerubbabel will rule over the nations,[31] but his victory will not be gained by force, but by the spirit of JHVH. The great mountain of the Persian empire will be leveled before him.[32] He concludes with the acclamation All hail to him[33] and abundant grace!

In the received text this vision of Zerubbabel being arraigned before the envoy of the Persian king is mixed up with the vision of the seven-branched candelabrum. According to the received text, two olive-trees stood at the right and left of the candelabrum,[34] and these two olive-trees are supposed to represent the two *sons of oil*, or anointed ones, who stand before the lord of the whole earth. But this phrase means again *who make a stand against the lord of the whole earth*, i. e. the Persian king.[17] The two anointed ones are not Zerubbabel and Joshua—Zechariah did not refer to Joshua—but two angels[10] who are to lead the rebellion of Judah against the Persians. I believe the original reading was not *Sons of Oil*, but Sons of JHVH; in the Hebrew name for angels, *Sons of God*, God is probably a later substitute for JHVH. In the Maccabean period these two angels would have been called Michael and Gabriel who, according to the Targum on 2 Chron. 31 21, annihilated the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem.[35] Michael is supposed to

and a royal diadem did not necessarily imply that the person so honored was to be an independent king; see Esth. 6 7-9 8 15, 1 Macc. 10 20 62; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 6, l. 43; p. 7, l. 7; *Esther*, p. 48 = AJSL 24, 144.

29 Heb. יום אחד, at the end of v. 9, means *first day*, as in Gen. 1 5; cf. Assyr. *ištên ûmu* (Delitzsch, AG², § 172).

30 We must read ממלכה instead of מהלכים in 6 7.

31 After תדין we must read בגוים, as in Ps. 110 6; cf. above, n. 18.

32 Cf. my explanation of Ps. 68 17 in AJSL 23, 229, n. 22.

33 Read תשעות instead of תשאות, and לו for לה.

34 See the cut on p. 84 of C. H. H. Wright's *Zechariah* (London, 1879).

35 The Targum (ed. Lagarde, p. 354) says, ושרר מימרא דיהוה מיכאל גבריאל מלאכא ושיצי בליליא דפסחא באשא מנתכא ואוקיד נשמתהון בגויהון.

stand at the right hand of God, Gabriel at the left; they are the kings of angels.

The two angels flanking the seven-branched candelabrum remind us of the winged genii touching the sacred tree, which we find on the Assyrian sculptures. One of the Assyrian names of those genii was *šêdu*, and we must evidently substitute *šêdîm*, genii,[36] for *zêtîm*, olive-trees. I have shown in the notes on the translation of *Ezekiel*,[37] in the Polychrome Bible, that these winged genii on the Assyrian sculptures are the prototypes of our angels, but originally they represent the winds carrying the pollen of the male palm-inflorescences to the female date-palm. The cone-shaped object with which they touch the branches of the sacred tree is, as was pointed out by Dr. Edward B. Tylor, a male palm-inflorescence stripped of its spathe.[38]

In the vision of Zechariah this male palm-inflorescence is called *šibbóleth*. The cuneiform equivalent of *šibbóleth*, Assyr. *šubultu*, is a synonym of *sissinnu*[39] which corresponds to *sinsinnîm* in the Biblical Love-songs and denotes the spadix of a

[36] The passage in the Song of Moses, Deut. 32 17, is later than the Visions of Zechariah; cf. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium* (Göttingen, 1898) p. 117. Ps. 106 is Maccabean. Assyr. *šêdu* is used, not only of cacodemons, but also of agathodemons; cf. *e. g.* ASKT 99, 44: *šêdi dumqi lamassi dumqi ina zumrišu lû-ka'ân* (KAT³, 455, n. 6). The Sumerian equivalent of *šêdu* is *alat;* the synonym of *šêdu*, Assyr. *lamassu* is a Sumerian loanword. In Hos. 12 12 we must read: בגלגל לשורים זבחו, not בגלגל לשדים זבחו (Hitzig, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti). The Jews, of course, may afterwards have regarded Babylonian agathodemons as cacodemons. Sanskrit *deva* means *god*, but Avestan *daêva* denotes an *evil spirit*. Cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 10, l. 33.

[37] See *op. cit.* p. 183, l. 20.

[38] The spathe of the male palm-inflorescence is called in Arabic: شرعاف, in Aramaic: מתחלא; the name for the pollen is حروق. The cross-fertilization of the date-palm is termed طلق, or لقح, or ابر, or اصلح. Cf. Pes. 56ᵃ: רב אחא בריה דרבא אמר מנחי כופרא דיכרא לנוקבתא; see L. Goldschmidt, *Der babyl. Talmud*, vol. ii (Berlin, 1901) p. 520 (כופרא = كافور). In Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization* (London, 1896) p. 555 there is a cylinder representing the gathering of the spathes of male palm-trees.

[39] See ASKT 10, 31-33; cf. Syr. ܣܝܣܢܐ ܕܕܟܪܐ.

date-palm.[40] Heb. *šibbóleth*, ear, cannot refer to the branch of an olive-tree; olive-trees have no ears, but male palm-inflorescences resemble ears.[41] We must translate Zech. 4 12: *What are the two ears* (spikes, flower-clusters) *in the hands of the two genii at the golden spouts?*[42] (*Are they pouring out seed over them?*)[43] This last clause is a gloss, and the whole

[40] *Sissinnu* means *spike*, then especially *spadix* of a date-palm; cf. ZDMG 63, 508, l. 4.

[41] See the cuts in PSBA, June, 1890, plate ii, figures 5 and 7.

[42] Or nozzles. *Nozzle* is a diminutive of *nose*. Luther has correctly *Schneuzen*. The LXX has μυξωτήρ = μυκτήρ; the Vulgate, *rostra;* the Peshita, ܢܣܒܐ. All these words denote the *spout* or *nozzle* of a lamp in which the wick is burned. The German term is *Tülle* (French *douille*) or *Dochtrohr*. Cf. Fleischer's remarks in Levy's Chaldee dictionary, vol. i, p. 418[a], below. The Targum has in the present passage אסקריטון which is the Greek ἐσχαρίς, *pan, basin*. Nor does צנתרין mean *pipe* in the Second Targum to Esther; see *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, ed. Lagarde, p. 228, l. 15; cf. the translation on p. 247 of Paulus Cassel, *Das Buch Esther* (Berlin, 1891). For the insertion of the *t* cf. modern Arabic شحتار = شحّار, *soot*. König compares this *t* to the δ in ἀνδρός, but the infixed *t* in צנתר was separated from the *n* by a vowel. Heb. צנתר is, of course, connected with צנור, which means *spout, socket* of a door in which the pivot turns, also (in the Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer, cxvi) *pudendum mulieris*, just as פת denotes both *door-socket* (Lat. *cardo femina*) and *pudendum mulieris*. This word must be restored in Am. 4 2:

וּנְשָׂא פִתְכֶן בְּצִנּוֹת וְאַחֲרִיתְכֶן בְּסִירוֹת
וּפַרְצִים פִּרְצִים תֵּצֶאנָה וְהָשְׁלַכְתֶּנָה חַרְבּוֹנָה׃

Your lap will be lifted with hooks,
your rump with grapnels;
In scraps will ye be dragged out
to rot in the sun.

Lit. *ye will be cast into the heat;* cf. Ps. 32 4. Houtsma's emendation בחרף ובקיץ (ZAT 27, 58) is gratuitous. We use *socket* (or *nozzle*) also for the small hollow tube or depression in a candlestick which holds the candle. Aram. בוצינא, *lamp*, denotes also the funnel-shaped hole of the upper millstone (Pes. 94[b]; cf. BT 2, 667). Heb. צנור means also *hook;* cf. צנורית. Syr. ܙܢܘܪܐ denotes a *fish-hook* or *fishing line*. In modern Arabic we have صنّارة with the same meaning. In German, *Angel* means both *fish-hook* and *hinge*. Shakespeare uses *angle* in the sense of *fish-hook*. The name *England* is derived from the *Angles*, and the Angles were anglers.

[43] The prefixed ה in המריקים is interrogative. The מ in מעליהם is due

verse is a variant to the question in the preceding verse, *What are these two genii on the right and left of the candelabrum?*

On some of the Assyrian sculptures the sacred tree has but seven branches[44] so that it resembles a seven-branched lamp-stand, just as the sacred candelabrum figured on the Arch of Titus[45] has seven branches. We find a seven-branched palm also upon a coin of the Maccabees.[46] Robertson Smith remarked in his *Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894) p. 488: In most of the Assyrian examples it is not easy to draw the line between the candelabrum and the sacred tree crowned with a star or crescent moon, and Stanley E. Cooke says (EB 647): It is not impossible that the candelabrum was originally a representation of the sacred seven-branched tree, possibly indeed the tree of life. Some of the representations of the sacred tree on the Assyrian monuments are so conventionalized that they look more like a lamp-stand than like a date-palm. The Jewish exiles could not fail to be influenced by the rich imagery of Babylonian art by which they were surrounded.[47]

Chapters 3 and 4 of the Visions of Zechariah may be translated as follows:

Zerubbabel before the Envoy of the King.

3, 1 Then He showed me Zerubbabel$^{\alpha}$ standing before the envoy[48]
of the king$^{\beta}$ with the prosecutor[49] at his right to prosecute
2 him. The envoy$^{\gamma}$ said to the prosecutor,[49] My lord$^{\delta}$ will

to dittography. For הזהב read הזרע; the Heb. term for *pollen* is said to be סיג, but this is doubtful. For the confusion of הזהב and הזרע in the two clauses cf. JBL 31, 130, l. 1.

[44] See *e. g.* PSBA, June, 1890, plate iii, fig. 14.

[45] See the cut on p. 218 of the translation of the *Psalms* in the Polychrome Bible.

[46] See EB 646, below.

[47] See Geo. A. Smith (cf. n. 4) p. 276. Rothstein (cf. n. 6) p. 139 emphasizes the point that it is irrelevant for his purpose whether or not Babylonian ideas underly the Visions of Zechariah. If he had considered this question, he would probably have given a better interpretation.

[48] Vištana, the satrap of Syria; cf. above, n. 25.

[49] The public prosecutor (crown prosecutor, district attorney) of the Persian government. The modern Heb. term is קַטֵיגוֹר = *κατήγωρ* = *κατήγορος*.

rebuke thee, O prosecutor;[ε] is not this a brand plucked from
3 the fire?[50] Zerubbabel[ζ] was clad in soiled garments when he
4 stood before the envoy. Then the envoy began to speak and
said to those who stood before him as follows, Take away his
5[a] soiled garments, () and invest him with royalty,[η] [ϑ]placing a
9 'diadem on his head. The stone tablet which I shall give
to[51] Zerubbabel[κ]—[λ]I am inscribing its inscription thereon,[μ]
quashing the indictment against that country(ν) on the first day.[ξ]
5[b] Thereupon they set the [ο]diadem upon his head, and invested
him with royal garments.[π]
6 Then the angel of JHVH stepped forward, and[ρ] solemnly
7 addressed Zerubbabel[σ] as follows, Thus JHVH Sabaoth has
said, If thou wilt walk in my ways and observe my cult,[52] then

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(α) **3, 1** the high-priest Joshua (β) JHVH (γ) 2 JHVH (δ) JHVH
(ε) 2 JHVH will rebuke thee, who has chosen Jerusalem (ζ) 3 Joshua
(η) 4 festival dresses (ϑ) 5[a] I said (ι) clean (κ) 9 Joshua
(λ) 9 on one stone there are seven eyes[53] (μ) says JHVH Sabaoth
(ν) 4 he said to him, See, I have removed thy guilt from thee

[50] The king will consider it ridiculous that this stripling (cf. n. 3) should be accused of attempting to overthrow the Persian empire. *Gebrannte Kinder scheuen das Feuer.* The lesson which the Jews received in 586 will suffice for some time to come. The phrase *a brand plucked from the fire* is, of course, not borrowed from Amos (4 11). It is a proverbial expression.

[51] Lit. *which I have set before Zerubbabel*, i. e. *which I shall place at the disposal of Z.* For לפני see Haupt, *Esther*, p. 26 = AJSL 24, 122, and for the perfect instead of the future cf. G-K[28], § 106, n.

[52] Lit. *my observance*, my ceremonial.

[53] Some of the official documents in Babylonia have seven eyes (or rosettes) representing the seven planets, *i. e.* Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. We find these symbols *e. g.* on a black stone tablet recording the investiture of a priest of Nebo at Borsippa. This explanation was suggested to Sellin by Friedrich Delitzsch; cf. H. G. Mitchell in *The International Critical Commentary* on Haggai and Zechariah (New York, 1912) p. 158. Josephus (*Ant.* iii, 6, 7) says that the lights of the golden candelabrum in the Temple correspond to the number of the seven planets; cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 130; Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 163. Vištana was satrap of Syria and Babylonia. Zechariah hoped that he would hand Zerubbabel a cuneiform Babylonian tablet acquitting him of all charges of high treason and creating him King of Judea under Persian suzerainty.

thou shalt also rule τover the nations,[31] and I shall give thee
8 royal rank υ among {those who sit before thee.} Hear, O φZerub-
4, 6 babel, thou and thy companions! {} [] χNot by force, nor by
power, but by my spirit wilt thou win, has JHVH Sabaoth said.
7 What art thou, O great mountain?[32] before Zerubbabel thou
wilt become a plain. He will gain the ψprincipality. All hail
to him[33] and abundant grace!

(ξ) 10 on that day, says JHVH Sabaoth, ye will invite one another under vines and fig-trees (ο) 5b clean
(π) 7, 8 those who stand are foreshadowing men ωω 54
(ρ) 6 the angel of JHVH (σ) Joshua
(τ) 7 my Temple and guard my forecourts (υ) access
(φ) 8 high-priest Joshua
(χ) 4, 6 this is JHVH's word to Zerubbabel as follows (ψ) 7 the stone

(ωω) 3, 8 for lo, I bring my servant called Scion.

The Seven-branched Candelabrum.

4, 1 Then the angel who talked with me came again, and roused
2 me like a man roused out of his sleep. He said to me, What
seest thou? I said, I see a candelabrum of αgold with a
3 fountain[55] on the top and seven lamps β thereon, γand seven
tubes for the lamps thereon; δ and two genii over it, one on
4 the right, ε and the other on the left. Then I began to speak
5 to the angel, ζ saying, What are these, my lord? He η answered
and said to me, Knowest thou not what these are? I said, No,
6a my lord. Then he began to speak and said to me as follows,
10b These seven lamps are the eyes of JHVH that wander over the
11 whole earth.[56] Then I began to speak and said to him, What
are these two genii on the right of the candelabrum and on
13 the left? ϑ He said to me, Knowest thou not what these are?
14 I said, No, my lord. Then he said to me, These are the two

54 Lit. *men of portent.* They foreshadow what is to be done with Zerubbabel. We can hardly suppose that this is a misplaced gloss to 4 14.

55 Reservoir.

56 Cf. 2 Chron. 16 9. The seven lamps represent the seven planets; cf. above, n. 53.

angels who will make a stand against the lord of the whole earth.[17]

(α) 4, 2 solid (β) of it (γ) seven (δ) on the top (ε) 3 of the fountain
(ζ) 4 who talked with me (η) 5 the angel who talked with me
(ϑ) 12 then I began to speak[ιι] and said to him, What are these two spikes[40] in the hands of the two genii on the golden spouts?[xx] [42]

(ιι) 4,12 a second time (xx) are they pouring out the seed over them?[43]

The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

3, 1 ויראני את[α] זרבבל עֹמד לפני מלאך המלך[β] והשטן עֹמד על
2 ימינו לשטנו: ויאמר המלאך[γ] אל השטן יגער אדני[δ] בך השטן[ε]
3 הלא זה אוד מֻצל מאש: וזרבבל[ζ] היה לבֻש בגדים צואים ועֹמד
4 לפני המלאך: ויען המלאך ויאמר אל העֹמדים לפניו לאמר הסירו
5a הבגדים הצֹאים מעליו() והלבֻשו אתו מלכות[η]: [ϑ]ושׂימו צניף[ι] על
9 ראשו ׀ כי הנה האבן אשר נתתי לפני [κ]זרבבל[λ] הנני מפַתח
5b פתֻחה[μ] ומָשׁתי את עֲון הארץ ההיא ביום אחד(ν):[ξ] וישׂימו הצניף[ο]
על ראשו וילבֻשֻהו בגדי מלכות:[π]
7. 6 ומלאך יהוה עָמַד ויעד[ρ] בזרבבל[σ] לאמר: כה אמר יהוה צבאות
אם בדרכי תלך ואם את משמרתי תשמר וגם אתה תדין[τ] בגוים
3, 8 ונתתי לך ממלכה[υ] בין {הישׁבים לפניך}: שמע נא[φ] זרבבל אתה
4, 6 ורעיך{} []: [χ]לא בחיל ולא בכח כי אם ברוחי תצליח אמר יהוה
7 צבאות: מי אתה ההר הגדול לפני זרבבל למישור תהיה והוציא
את[ψ] הראשה תשֻעות חן חן לו:

(α) 3, 1 יהושע הכהן הגדול (β) יהוה (γ) 2 יהוה (δ) יהוה
(ε) 2 ויגער יהוה בך הבֹחר בירושלם (ζ) 3 ויהשע (η) 4 מחלצות
(ϑ) 5a ואמר (ι) טהור (κ) 9 יהושע (λ) על אבן אחת שבעה עינים
(μ) 9 נאם יהוה צבאות (ν) 4 ויאמר אליו ראֵה העברתי מעליך עֲונך
(ξ) 10 ביום ההוא נאם יהוה צבאות תקראו איש לרעהו אל תחת גפן ואל תחת תאנה:
(ο) 5b טהור (π) 8. 7 העֹמדים האלה ׀ אנשי מופת המה[ωω] (ρ) 6 מלאך יהוה
(σ) 6 ביהושע (τ) 7 את ביתי וגם תשמר את חצרי (υ) מהלכים
(φ) 8 יהושע הכהן הגדול (χ) 4, 6 זה דבר יהוה אל זרבבל לאמר (ψ) 4, 7 האבן

(ωω) 3, 8 כי הנני מביא את עבדי צמח שמו

4, וישב המלאך הדֹּבר בי ויעירני כאיש אשר יֵעוֹר משׁנתו: ויאמר
אלי מה אתה רֹאה ואֹמר ראיתי והנה מנורת זהב[α] וגֻלֹּה על ראשה
ושבעה נֵרֹת[β] עליה[γ] ושבעה מוֹצקות לנֵרות אשר עליהָ[δ]: ושנים
שֵׁידים עליהָ אחד מימינה[ε] ואחד על שׂמאלה: ואען ואֹמר אל המלאך[ζ]
לאמר מה אלה אדני: ויען[η] ויאמר אלי הלוא ידעת מה המה אלה
10b ואֹמר לא אדני: ויען ויאמר אלי לאמר: שבעה הנֵרות האלה עיני
יהוה הנה משוטטות בכל הארץ: ואען ואֹמר אליו מה שני השֵׁידים
האלה על ימין המנורה ועל שׂמאולה:[ϑ] ויאמר אלי לאמר הלוא
ידעת מה אלה ואֹמר לא אדני: ויאמר אלה שני בני יהוה העֹמדים
על אדון כל הארץ:

(α) 4, 2 כלֹה (β) ־יהָ (γ) שבעה (δ) ראשה (ε) 3 הגֻלֹּה
(ζ) 4 הדֹּבר בי (η) 5 המלאך הדֹּבר בי
(ϑ) 12 ואען[ιι] ואֹמר אליו מה שתי שבלים {} אשר בידי שני {השֵׁידים} על צנתרות הזהב[xx]

(ιι) 4, 12 שנית (xx) הַמֹּריקים עליהם הזרע

"Work" in Ecclesiastes

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THE book of Ecclesiastes is in some respects one of the most interesting in the Old Testament. The linguist, for example, finds in it grammatical and lexical peculiarities in plenty and the critic a curious problem of origin and composition. More important, however, than its linguistic form or its literary history is the tenor of its content in comparison with the teaching of other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was inevitable, therefore, that it would provoke discussion of its essential merits and find admirers to commend it to the general public. The latter office has been well performed by Professor John F. Genung, whose *Words of Koheleth* is an enthusiastic presentation of the ideas he finds in the work and is excellent reading. It was this book that suggested the present paper by the place it assigns to work in the experience and the philosophy of the Preacher. The subject is treated at length in the "Introductory Study," where (pp. 83 f.), after quoting 3 22, the significant part of which Professor Genung renders, "there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own work," he proceeds as follows:

"There is nothing, I am inclined to think, that has had such scant justice at the hands of Koheleth's interpreters as this his gospel of work. It has been almost invariably ignored by the side of the eating and drinking with which it is so generally associated. Koheleth has accordingly—or a part of him, in these modern times of critical dissection—been identified with Epicureanism; as if after all his desperately earnest quest for the highest good of life, he had reduced his ideal to praise of gorging and guzzling and what young folks call 'having a

good time.' No book was ever less Epicurean than this. Note the passages wherein he mentions eating and drinking, and you always find a working man there, a man who can draw up to table with a good healthful appetite, and sleep sweetly whether he eat little or much, because he has found his work, the expression of his plans and his skill and his individuality, and takes it as what God meant him to have, and makes it his own by rejoicing in it. There is nothing better for man than this, Koheleth avers; nay, in the solid and usable sense this comprehends it all." He adds, on pp. 89 f.: "'There are but two possessions,' says Professor Carl Hilty, 'which may be attained by persons of every condition, which never desert one through life, and are a constant consolation in misfortune. These are work and love. Those who shut these blessings out of life commit a greater sin than suicide. They do not even know what it is that they throw away. Rest without work is a thing which in this life one cannot endure.' Of these two possessions Koheleth, rebuking the too self-indulgent dreams of his age, has fallen back on the first, on work; and out of it, as accepted in joy, has drawn for life a noble resource of courage and cheer."

The thought here presented is indeed an inspiring one, and "worthy of all acceptation," but Professor Barton seems not to have found it in the passage cited or elsewhere in the book of Ecclesiastes, and this fact suggests the question whether it can properly be attributed to the original author of the work.

The first step in the discussion of this question is the examination of the terms employed in Ecclesiastes, or that part of it which may safely be regarded as genuine,[1] of the sort of activity, or its product, that may, with more or less propriety, be called "work." The Hebrew verb that is so rendered in

[1] The following are the passages the genuineness of which is denied or suspected by Professor Barton in his commentary: 2 26a; 3 17; 4 5; 5 3/2. 7/6a; 7 1a. 3. 5-9. 11 f. 18b-19. 26b. 29; 8 1. 2b-3a. 5-6a. 11-13; 9 17 f.; 10 1-3. 8-14a. 15. 18 f.; 11 9b; 12 1a. 9-14. They will be ignored in the present discussion because, so far as they have any bearing on the result, they are so widely at variance with the rest of the book, that they simply cannot have come from the same author, but must have been added by some person or persons for the purpose of neutralizing his teaching.

2 11 and 17 and 3 9 is the one (*'aśah*) that is generally translated *do*, in the sense of *effect*, *accomplish*, even in Ecclesiastes, and might as well have been so translated in these three passages. Its meaning is clearly seen in 2 2, "I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it"? where it is implied, not only that these indulgences actually effect nothing of real value, but that it is not in them, however much they may be practiced, to effect anything of the kind; also in 11 5, where God is described as the one who "doeth everything," that is, not only does all that is done, but never exerts his power without accomplishing the desired object.

Such being the force of the verb, the noun (*ma'aśeh*) derived from it naturally has a corresponding meaning. In other words, it is used of effective activity, or the product of it. A good example of the former of these usages is found in a passage already quoted (11 5), where the author makes the comparison. "As thou knowest not the way of the wind, . . . even so thou knowest not the work of God." In the other passages in which the phrase, "the work of God," appears (3 11; 7 13; 8 17) it seems to refer to the product of the divine activity in creation, and perhaps in history.

The same meanings are found in the passages in which the work in question is the work of human beings. Thus, in 9 10 the reader is warned that there is "no work," no productive employment such as the upper world affords, "in Sheol"; and the word seems to be used in the same sense in the phrase "skilful work," or "skill in work," of 4 4; but in 2 17; 5 6, and 8 9 it doubtless denotes the product of human activity. So, also, in 4 3, with its "evil work," and 8 14, where "the work of the wicked" and "the work of the righteous" are contrasted. The clearest cases are 1 14; 2 4 and 11, and 9 7, where the noun has the plural form. Here belongs, also, if it is properly translated in the English Version, 3 22 (which Professor Genung [p. 83] quotes incorrectly, substituting "work" for "works"), in support of his contention that the "joy" which the Preacher regarded as the highest good "was not in the thing done, but in the doing of it."

The substitution of the singular for the plural in the passage

just cited is plainly a slip of the pen or a typographical error, since in his translation on another page (256) he uses the latter. In his comments on the passage, however, he again lays himself open to criticism, when he says that "the word translated *works* is the one that represents work in its nobler creative aspect," and refers to p. 246, whence it appears that *maʿaśeh* is the word intended. But, as has just been shown, this word is used of the bad practices of men as well as of their creative activity. It will therefore be necessary to insist on the broader definition, effective activity or the product of it, already given. The word *maʿaśeh* always means work in one of these senses in Ecclesiastes, and conversely, wherever the English word in either of these senses is found, it is a translation of *maʿaśeh*, except in one case, in 9 1, where the corresponding Aramaic word, *ʿabhadh*, in the plural is substituted.

The word "work" in Ecclesiastes, since it always denotes effective activity or the product of it, implies that the thing undertaken is within the capacity of the doer, but it does not indicate to what degree his resources are taxed in achieving the desired result. In point of fact, there are some things that require very little effort and others that can only be done with great, or the utmost, exertion. Now, the Hebrew, like other languages, has a verb (*ʿamal*) that denotes wearisome activity, and therefore, in the English Version, is always and properly rendered "labor," while the noun derived from it is represented by the corresponding English noun.

The difference, in general, between "labor" and "work," and the relation between them, is clearly illustrated in the book of Ecclesiastes. In the first place, since there is no limit to the ability of the Almighty, *ʿaśah* is constantly, but *ʿamal* never, used of the divine activity or the outcome of its application. Second, since there are things which, although they are within man's capacity, can only be achieved by wearisome exertion, both terms are sometimes used of the same example of human activity. A good illustration is found in 3 9, where the Preacher asks, "What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboreth?" that is, what profit has the doer of anything that he can accomplish only by wearisome effort?

and another in 2 11, where he describes his achievments, first as "the works that my hands had wrought," and then as "the labor that I had labored to do," that is, the results that, by wearisome effort, I had produced. Third, since there is a limit to human capacity, *'amal* is used where *'aśah* would not be appropriate, as, for example, in 8 17, where the Preacher complains that, "however much man may labor to seek," that is, however laboriously man may seek, he is not able to comprehend "the work of God." At first sight 5 16 seems to be a similar case, but the man who has attained wealth by his labor can hardly be said to have failed of accomplishment, although he cannot carry away the fruits of his labor "in his hand."

Like *'aśah*, *'amal* has a nominal derivative with differing meanings. In the first place, and oftenest, it presents the thought of the verb in the form of a substantive. It has this sense in 1 3, where it is employed as a kind of internal accusative, with the verb from which it is derived; a construction that is found, also, in 2 20 and 22, 5 18, and 9 9. In 2 24, by virtue of its verbal character, it becomes about equivalent to an infinitive, for, in this passage "in his labor" means in his laboring, or, to use the English idiom, while he labors. See, also, 8 15 and 9 9, and, further, 3 13, where the English Version has "in all his labor," that is, so long as he labors. Here, doubtless, belongs 5 19, to which it will be necessary to return in another connection. Finally, the verbal noun occurs in various constructions in 4 8 and 9, 5 15, and 6 7.

The passages in which *'amal* denotes the product of wearisome activity are less numerous, but there are indubitable examples. The first is in 2 11, where, as has already been shown, *'amal* is used of the same results of the Preacher's activity as *ma'aśeh*. In 2 18-21 there are no fewer than three cases of this kind, for, of course, when the Preacher says he "must leave it," he means the "labor," that is, the product of the labor, to which he has just referred. In 4 6, too, where the author declares "a handful of rest" to be better than "two handfuls of labor," by "labor" he must mean the fruits of it. In other words, he says he would rather rest a day than have the wages for two days, if he himself had to earn them. To

be sure, the phrase that follows, if it be rendered "and striving after wind," does not favor this interpretation, but the contrary is true if it be rendered "feeding on wind" or "vexation of spirit," for either of which there is the best ancient authority.[2]

There is reason to believe that still a third somewhat differing sense for *'amal* is to be found under a mistaken reading in 3 11. The verse is wrongly translated in the Authorized English Version. The American Revision has, "He hath made everything beautiful in its time; also he hath put eternity in their heart, yet so that man cannot find out the work that God hath done from the beginning even to the end." Professor Genung has in some respects improved upon this rendering. He translates, "Everything hath he made beautiful in its time; also he hath put eternity in their heart;—yet not so that man findeth out the work which God hath wrought, from the beginning, and to the end." In the original, however, the word rendered "eternity," as well as "everything," is emphatic. It would therefore be better to render the second clause, "Moreover, eternity hath he put into their hearts." It would also be preferable to connect these words more closely with what follows, for, although the thought of the unchangeableness of God's works is not foreign to the book of Ecclesiastes, being clearly stated in v. 14 of the same chapter, such an expression as "in their hearts," meaning the hearts of certain things, is very rare anywhere in the Old Testament. When, however, these changes have been made, the result is by no means satisfactory. It is still necessary to explain the appearance of the word "eternity" in this connection. How can one who, as did the Preacher, consigned man and beast alike to a death beyond which he saw "no work, or device, or knowledge, or wisdom," have said, or meant to say, that God "hath put eternity," that is, "the idea of eternity," "the effort and ability to conceive it" (Wildeboer), into the hearts of men, and then have lost, as he must have done, the way out of his desperate difficulties?

[2] For the former, see the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus; for the latter the Vulgate, the Peshitto, and the Targum.

When the biblical student is confronted by such unlikely alternatives he is warranted in resorting to emendation, especially if, as in this case, a better reading "springt in die Augen," forces itself upon his acceptance. It requires only the transposition of two letters. The word rendered "eternity" is *ʿolam*, which is here written defectively, Transpose the last two of the three consonants composing it (l—m) and the result is the combination (m—l) found in the word *ʿamal*, labor. The verse will then read, "Everything hath he made beautiful in its time; moreover, labor," that is,—and this constitutes the third usage for the word,—a compulsion to activity, sometimes wearisome, "hath he put into men's hearts, yet not so that they find out the work that God hath done from the beginning to the end." In other words, he asserts that God has implanted in man a disposition which, if not regulated and restrained, impels him (man) to undertake tasks that he has not the ability to accomplish.

The correctness of this emendation, and the interpretation given to the verse as emended, is strongly supported by the following considerations: 1. In the verse preceding the Preacher refers to the "travail," as the English Version has it, "which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised," busied, "therewith." Now, it is clear that here, as in 1 13, he has in mind the search for wisdom "concerning all that is done under heaven." If so, v. 11, as emended, not only harmonizes with, but furnishes an explanation for, the preceding verse. 2. The emendation suggested brings the passage as a whole into striking accord with 8 17, which reads, "I beheld all the work of God, that man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun, because, however much man may labor to seek," that is, however laboriously he may seek, "he doth not find. Yea, if the wise man think to know, he doth not learn." 3. The reading *ʿolam*, in 3 11, may be explained as either a copyist's mistake, due to the actual occurrence of this word in v. 14, or to an attempt of a scribe to bring the two passages into harmony with each other.

Two terms, denoting as many phases of activity, especially human, have now been discussed. A third, *ʿinyan*, which, as

already noted, in the English Version is generally rendered "travail," remains to be considered. It and the verb from which it is derived (*'anah*) are found only in Ecclesiastes. Professor Genung prefers *toil* for both, but the latest lexicon defines the verb as the equivalent of "be busied" or "be occupied," and gives the noun a corresponding meaning. The latter seems to be the more defensible explanation. In other words, *'inyan* denotes "business," regular or continuous employment, without reference to results obtained. That it is incessant, is clear from 2 23, which may be translated, "All his days are troublous, and his business vexatious, even at night his heart resteth not"; and 8 16, where the Preacher cites as an example one "that neither day nor night seeth sleep with his eyes." That it is also, sometimes at least, ineffective, appears from 1 13, 4 8, and 5 14, where "sore travail" and "evil adventure" are about equivalent to the modern expression "poor business".

These are the terms for work in three of its phases that are used in the book of Ecclesiastes. The next step is to consider the field in which the Preacher finds them applied. At first his survey is confined to the limits of his own experience. He represents himself as Solomon. Now, Solomon was a king, and, according to tradition, a very able and wealthy one into the bargain. A person in such circumstances is lifted above the sordid drudgery of life. Not having to work for a living, if he exerts himself, it is in the attainment of things not reckoned among the necessities of existence. The Preacher acts in harmony with the circumstances assumed. He first employs the leisure his wealth procures him in observation of the world about him, not in the desultory way of a dilettante, but with the energy and persistence of a thorough student. "I gave myself," he says, "to seeking and searching by wisdom concerning all that is done under heaven." See 1 13. He did not confine himself to the doings of men, but extended his researches to the work of God in the world. See 3 11. He made a business of becoming wise, and labored early and late as one labors for one's daily bread. He succeeded so far as to acquire wisdom above that of all who had been before him in Jerusalem (1 16), but, because he acquired to gratify himself,

and not to supply a demand in himself or others, he finally tired of his high enterprise and took to a less admirable form of activity.

He turned from the pursuit of knowledge to the enjoyment of his wealth and the manifold pleasures that it could procure him, drawing on his peculiar wisdom to help him in this new field. He gives a list of the means by which he undertook to amuse himself. It sounds like an inventory of the fads and follies of a modern millionaire. First he tried indulgence in wine, to which men in all ages have resorted as the readiest means for securing a pleasurable reaction. He tried it thoroughly. "I searched in my heart," he says, "how to cheer my flesh, my heart leading me wisely." At the same time, always with his finger on his pulse, he tested the effects of folly, "to see what it was good for the sons of men to do under heaven all the days of their lives." See 2 3. He made a business of these pursuits, but, as they yielded no tangible results, he next devoted himself to the production of "works" that would increase his fame as well as please his taste and afford him comfort. He built houses, planted vineyards, made gardens and parks, and pools to water his plantations, and surrounded himself with servants male and female in great numbers. Meanwhile, in spite of the immense outlays required for these great works, his wealth in flocks and herds, silver and gold, and the costly presents of kings and princes steadily increased, and he added to his luxuries singers male and female; also, following the practice of oriental monarchs, an extensive harem. See 2 4ff. In short, as he says, he denied himself nothing that promised gratification to his luxurious senses. Thus he became a great voluptuary, a greater than all who had been before him in Jerusalem. See 2 9.

The Preacher, it will have been noticed, is very specific with reference to his own fields of effort. When he comes to consider the world at work he is overwhelmed by the multifold activities in which men are engaged "under the sun." See 1 13. He does not attempt to catalogue them,—for 3 1-8 is rather a list of divine appointments,—but either directly or indirectly he makes the reader acquainted with some of them. In the

first place, it appears from 5 19 that there were some besides himself who, in the popular sense of the word, could afford to pursue wisdom or pleasure. There were, however, others, and indeed great masses of men, to whom life was only a struggle to satisfy their physical needs. He must have had them especially in mind when he wrote (6 7), "all the labor of man is for his mouth, and yet the appetite is not satisfied." Among them were the husbandmen, to whom, and to the insistence of their calling, he refers in 11 4 and 6. The Preacher found, also, among his contemporaries a class in whom, according to 4 4, pride was the dominant motive, and among whom there was sometimes bitter rivalry and competition. But it is those who were impelled by the desire for wealth to whom he gives the most serious attention. He pictures their efforts in 2 21 ff., the skill they expend, the anxiety they suffer, and the effect of the tension upon their health and their happiness. He returns to the subject in 4 8 and 5 13 ff.

It is not necessary to pursue this line of thought farther. The Preacher, according to his own showing, evidently was, or had been, a busy man, and he found in the world about him nothing more impressive than the varied activity among men, excited, as he explained, by an inner necessity implanted in all alike by their Creator. It is this activity which, with its product, when it is effective, he calls work, or, if it seriously taxes the ability of the agent, whether it is effective or not, labor.

What, now, is the attitude of the Preacher toward work as he knew it by experience and observation? Professor Genung finds it noble, and in the highest degree inspiring, a veritable "gospel" to the appreciative reader; and he describes the workingman, according to Ecclesiastes, as "a man who can draw up to table with a good healthy appetite, sleep sweetly whether he eat little or much, because he has found his work, the expression of his plans and his skill and his individuality, and takes it as what God meant him to have, and makes it his own by rejoicing in it." It is doubtful, however, if this is a defensible interpretation. In the first place, it is significant that, whatever else he may say with reference to his own or

others' activity, he finally recognizes in it a form of labor, that is, a wearisome tax on human ability. Thus, although in 1 13ff. he does not use the term "labor" of his own search for wisdom, in 8 17 he represents any such search as laborious, and in 2 11 he describes the works by which he undertook to amuse himself as the products of labor. It is labor, also, by which the husbandman obtains his bread (6 7), the artisan his skill (4 4), and the man of means his wealth. See 5 16. It should also be noted that the Preacher several times prefixes to the word "labor" the modifier "all," which, like "much" or "great," largely increases the peculiar significance of the noun. See 1 3; 2 18. 19. 20. 22; 4 8; 5 18. These passages are suffficiently convincing, but, when one recalls that in 4 8 and elsewhere the Preacher represents labor as a constant factor in human life, the total impression is that to him, so far from being welcome and agreeable, it was a source of dissatisfaction and irritation. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him comparing rest and labor to the disadvantage of the latter, declaring in 4 6 that "a handful of rest is better than two handfuls of labor." He expresses himself more strongly in 2 23, where he says of the man who labors for wealth that "his days are painful and his business grievous; yea, even at night his heart hath no rest"; and in 5 17, where he declares that "all his days also he is in darkness, and mourning, and great vexation, and sickness, and wrath." Here, also, belongs the expression "poor," literally "bad," "business" in 1 13 and 4 8, and "business" without the modifier, but with the parenthetical remark, "for also there is that neither day nor night seeth sleep with his eyes," in 8 16.

It is, however, the profitlessness of labor to which the Preacher refers with most feeling. In 2 17 he says he "hated life" because the work done under the sun was grievous to him, in that it was all "vanity and strife after wind." The last clause must not be misunderstood. It does not mean that the work of the world is without results. The term used, as has been shown, is one that implies achievement. The thought is that the results achieved, in view of certain facts that are cited in the same connection, are not worth the exertion

required to produce them. Thus, in v. 15 the search for wisdom is pronounced vain because it does not preserve the winner from the common fate of all mankind, and in v. 18 f. the pursuit of wealth is represented as equally vain because the possessor cannot himself enjoy it indefinitely or make sure that, when he is obliged to part with it, it will fall to worthy heirs. See also 5 13 ff. A similar explanation must be supplied in 1 13 and 2 11, where no reason is given. These passages, therefore, have a double bearing. They show, not only, negatively, that the author of them had no love for work for its own sake, but, positively, that thought, desire, and purpose in him were focused upon the results in wisdom, pleasure, or some other fancied good, of his endeavors.

This view of the Preacher's attitude toward work seems inevitable, but there are some passages, not in the list of interpolations above given, which seem to forbid it. One of them is 2 10, or the latter part of it; but, since its phraseology is peculiar and to some extent ambiguous, it will be best to leave it until two or three others that have been interpreted as teaching a gospel of work have been considered.

Take, first, 3 12 f. Here the Preacher asserts that there is nothing better for men than "to rejoice, and get good," literally "in their life," that is, as the English Version has it, "so long as they live." He enlarges upon this declaration by saying, „Yea, that every man eat and drink, and see good in all his labor; it is the gift of God." Here it is perfectly clear that to the author's mind the highest good is enjoyment, and that it is derived, to some extent at least, from eating and drinking. It is equally evident that, as in v. 12 the object of enjoyment is not life but the good acquired during life, so in v. 13 it is not labor but the good experienced during labor. In other words, this enjoyment is an offset to, and a solace for, the wearisome activity in which men in general are engaged; and it is this offset or solace that is the gift of God.

The same ideas are somewhat differently, but clearly enough, expressed in 5 18: "Behold that which I have seen to be good and comely is to eat, and drink, and see good in all one's labor, wherein one laboreth under the sun, all the days of the

life that God hath given one; it is one's portion." It is therefore necessary to interpret "rejoice in his labor" in the next verse as meaning "rejoice while he labors". A more convincing passage, however, is 8 15, where the Preacher says, "I commended enjoyment, declaring that there is nothing better for man under the sun than to eat, and drink, and enjoy, and let this accompany him in his labor all the days of his life which God hath given him under the sun"; which is expanded in 9 7ff. as follows: "Go, eat with joy thy bread, and drink with a merry heart thy wine, for God hath accepted thy works. Let thy garments always be white, and let not oil be lacking on thy head. See life with the woman whom thou lovest all the days of thy vain life which he hath given thee under the sun, for it is thy portion in life, and in thy labor wherein thou laborest under the sun." In this passage the author's rule of life is presented in its most attractive form. It is based on the doctrine of divine sovereignty and predestination. He believed that the course of things in the world and in the lives of men was ordained by God (11 5); also that in the course of events the evil that men suffered was, to some extent at least, offset by a certain amount of good placed within their reach. See 3 1ff.; 7 14. This is the gift of God, and man's portion. See 2 24; 9 9. Work, as has been shown, he like the author of Gen. 3, reckoned an evil to which men were inwardly urged, but from which they could to a great extent escape, if they were willing to deny themselves the exceptional acquisitions on which human energy was expended, and for which, so far as necessary, they could find a solace in the homely pleasures of the simple life.

This in outline is the teaching of Ecclesiastes in the passages in which the Preacher most fully and clearly unfolds his philosophy of life. It remains to examine two that are said to tell a different story. One of them is 2 10, which, it will be remembered, was cited only to be reserved for later consideration. Professor Genung renders the latter part of it, "My heart derived joy from all my labor, and this was my portion from all my labor" and comments thereon as follows: "The joy comes, it is to be noted, from the labor, not from the

eventualized results of it or from the reward that he gets for it." But is this the proper interpretation of the passage? The word that Professor Genung here renders "joy" is the same that in vv. 1f. he translates "pleasure." But in v. 1 the pleasure by which the Preacher proposes to test his heart is the passing enjoyment of what he calls "good," that is, the things that are generally regarded as blessings, and in the first part of v. 10 itself the parallelism,

"Whatever mine eyes desired I kept not from them,
I withheld not my heart from any joy,"

makes evident that the joy in question is the enjoyment of the objects of desire, such as the houses, vineyards, etc. previously enumerated. This being the case, the verse is thus far in general agreement with the passages already discussed, but it differs from them in this, that, while they have in view the simple blessings that are within the reach of the great majority of mankind, it refers to the luxuries which the Preacher found not worth the effort necessary to obtain them.

In the latter part of the verse one naturally expects to find a continuation of the same line of thought, the joy there meant being the temporary enjoyment of the luxuries to which the author turned when he abandoned the pursuit of wisdom. But how could anyone call such joy his "portion" and in the same breath (v. 11) describe the labor from which it came as utterly vain and unprofitable? The contradiction is undeniable, and the only way to remedy it is to refer 10b to an editor who had the language of the book at his tongue's end, but had not taken the trouble to master its meaning; when, of course, it ceases to be a matter of importance whether the labor intended is effort for its own sake or the results of endeavor.

The latter is the more natural interpretation, and it is supported by 3 22, the second of the passages requiring special attention. It was quoted in part at the beginning of the paper, and again in the discussion of the term *ma'aśeh*, work, where attention was called to the error in Professor Genung's translation of it on p. 83 of his *Words of Koheleth*. The whole verse is properly rendered in the English Version, where it reads, "Wherefore I saw that there is nothing better than that a

man should rejoice in his works, for that is his portion; for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him?" Here the author, by the word "works," undoubtedly, as has been shown, means the results of human activity, probably having in mind such works as are described in 2 4ff. In any case, it is clear that the joy here commended is the enjoyment, not, as Professor Genung says, of work for its own sake, but of the products or achievements of such activity, and that, therefore, there is the same disagreement between this passage and 2 24, etc., that there was between 10b and 10a of chapter 2; that is, that this verse, like 2 10b, is an interpolation. The clause, "that is his portion," points in the same direction, for, according to the Preacher, as appears from 2 24f., the only enjoyment worth having is not won by man himself by any amount of effort, but is the gift of God.[3] See also 3 13; 5 18f.; 9 9. If it should be objected that 4 1, the first words of which should be rendered, "Again I saw," witnesses to the genuineness of this verse, the answer would be an easy one, namely, that, since the verb "saw" is not used in the same sense in the two cases, it is more than probable that the verb "return" in the sense of "again" is itself an interpolation, having been added by the same thoughtless editor by whom 3 22 was inserted. For a similar case, see Gen. 28 18.[4]

The elimination of these spurious passages leaves the matter of the Preacher's attitude toward work consistent and intelligible. He found no "gospel" in it, but regarded it as a folly to be shunned when it was not a misfortune to be endured. The only comfort he found for himself or his fellows "under the sun" he found in the satisfaction of the normal physical appetites while they endured. Note the limitations in this statement. First, it is only the cravings of his physical, as

[3] In v. 25 read, with the Greek and Syriac versions, "who eateth or drinketh except from him," that is God?

[4] It is possible that in 9 7 the clause, "for God hath already accepted thy works," ought also to be omitted. It bears a certain resemblance to those above considered, disturbs the rhythm of the passage in which it is found, and apparently contradicts 9 1, where the Preacher declares that man's experience of good or evil furnishes no clue to the actual attitude of God toward him.

distinguished from his intellectual or spiritual, nature that he thought it worth while to appease, such attainments as wisdom and righteousness seeming to cost too much labor to be at all profitable. See 1 18; 7 16. Second, he limited himself and his kind to the gratification of the normal appetites, because any excess had to be paid for by increased labor. See 2 11. Finally, since all the enjoyment he could promise himself or anyone else was of a sensual character, he did not expect it to last even until death, but constantly reminded himself and them that beyond a certain stage in life it would grow less and less with increasing years. See 9 6; 11 8. The fact is, that there is no gospel of any kind in the book of Ecclesiastes in its original form and dimensions. Its shallow philosophy ignores all that is best and noblest in human character and experience, and thus robs youth of its dreams, manhood of its rewards, and old age of its consolations. What wonder, then, that the author found life empty and closed, as he began, with the pessimistic refrain, "Vanity of vanities! all is vanity." And what wonder that the guardians of the moral and religious interests of the Jews, fearing either to suppress his book or to permit it to be circulated as it was written, interpolated it with their pious proverbs, thus giving it an appearance of registering the "greatest triumph of Old Testament piety" (Cornill) and making it a possible means of grace to their own and many subsequent generations.

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The Cuneiform Name of the Second Adar

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IN my ASKT,[1] which I published more than thirty years ago, I pointed out that the Sumerian name for *Adar*, the twelfth month of the Babylonian year, which is *iti-še-kin-kut*,[2] meant *grain-harvest month*, lit. *month of the work of cutting the grain*, which would be in Assyrian: *araḫ šipir nakâsi sa še'im*.[3] The Adar was the beginning of the grain-harvest in Babylonia, whereas the Elul is the time of the vintage.[4] In my paper on Elul and Adar[5] I have shown that *Elul* stands for غلول,[6]

[1] For the abbreviations see vol. 31 of this JOURNAL, p. 115, n. 2.

[2] For the final *t*, not *d*, see ZDMG 64, 705, n. 1.

[3] See ASKT 44, 12; 68, 5; 204, No. 22; cf. ZDMG 64, 705, l. 16; contrast AW 190, n. 2 and F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1911) p. 499.

[4] See Haupt, *Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 88, n. * (AJSL 26, 224).

[5] ZDMG 64, p. 704, l. 17. Contrast PSBA 34, 294; 35, 127.

[6] Dr. Rudolf Růžička's idea (ZA 27, 320) that ġ and ḫ were developed exclusively in Arabic (*aus den Laryngalen ist erst im Sonderleben der arabischen Sprache ġ and ḫ geworden*) is untenable; we have ג and ח in Ethiopic, and ג appears in Assyrian as א, whereas ח appears as ה. Lagarde's *unglückliche und übereilte Einfälle* are better than Dr. Růžička's most fortunate and elaborate lucubrations. The theory combated by Dr. Růžička was not invented by Lagarde; cf. Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (1835) p. 976. My view with regard to ġ and ḫ is shared by Brockelmann (VG 1, 125, 1, β; 127, r, γ and s; also 659) and all leading Semitic scholars. So far as I know, no one has adopted Dr. Růžička's theory (cf. also Gesenius-Buhl[15], 549[a], above). The

ingathering; the Heb. word עללות, *gleaning* is derived from the same stem. Elul was the month of Tabernacles, and Adar the month of Unleavened Bread. These feasts were originally celebrated at the autumnal and vernal equinoxes.[7]

The correct form of *Adar* is *Addar* = *haddar,* threshing-floor; *arax Addari* means literally *threshing-floor month.*[8] The original meaning of אֶדֶר (= חדר) is *circle;* the threshing-floor was a round open space, and the threshing was done by driving cattle around until a more or less complete detachment of the grain was effected (DB 1, 50). In the Recollections of Mrs. John A. Logan, the widow of General Logan, published in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine,* New York, December 1912, it is stated that some sixty years ago, in the belt of country south of the Ohio and Missisippi Railroad, horses tramped out the grain on the smooth threshing yard.

Addar is followed by the intercalary month known as the *Second Adar,* Heb. אדר שני (Aram. אדר תנינא) or ואדר. So far as I know, the name *Veadar* has never been explained; but it is evidently an expression like ואבן in the phrase אבן ואבן, *a stone and a stone,* i. e. *divers weights.* In Deut. 25 13 we read לא תהיה לך בכיסך אבן ואבן גדולה וקטנה, *thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small.* Just as ואבן means here *another weight,* so ואדר denotes *another Adar.* Similarly we find in Ps. 12 3: בלב ולב ידברו, *with a heart and a heart do they speak,* i. e. *with a double heart.*[9]

Nor has the Sumerian name of the Second Adar been explained. The First Adar is called in Sumerian: *iti-še-kin-kut,* grain-harvest month, and the name of the Second Adar is *iti-dir-še-kin-kut.* Now, what is the meaning of *dir* in this connection? Sumerian *dir* has a variety of meanings. It is rendered in Assyrian by *uššušu,* troubled, which corresponds to the Heb. עשש, Arab. غثّ, *to pain, give pain, trouble.*[10] It is explained

naïve way in which Dr. Růžička has used the LXX has been pointed out in ZAT 28, 220. Cf. also König in WZKM 27, part 1.

[7] ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 21.

[8] ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 31; p. 714, n. 2.

[9] Cf. G-K, § 123, f; Crit. Notes on *Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 65, l. 13.

[10] See my note in BA 5, 601.

also by *sâmu* = Aram. שָׁחֲמָא, Arab. اسحم (or اسخم) black; *magrû*, unlucky; *atru* = *uatru*, abundant; *elî*, upon, or in addition to; *malû*, full, &c, &c.[11] In the Sumerian name of the Second Adar *dir* evidently corresponds to the Assyrian *atru* = Aram. יתיר, abundant, excessive, extraordinary, so that the Sumer. *iti-dir-še-kin-kut* means the *extra grain-harvest month* or the *additional*, supplementary, adscititious *grain-harvest month*.

In ASKT 44, 13 I gave as the Assyrian names of the Second Adar *arxu minâ-bi ša Addari*, or *arxu ša Addari*, or *arxu maxru ša Addari*, or *arxu magru ša Addari;* the last variant according to Delitzsch,[12] the last but one according to Pinches (v R 29, 13[b]). In ASKT 64, 13 I adopted Pinches' reading; Delitzsch's *magru* was incorrect; the Assyrian equivalent of Sumer. *dir* is not *magrû*, but *magrû*, fem. *magrîtu*, from *garû*, *igrî*, to attack, to be hostile; cf. *garû*, or *girû*, adversary, enemy.[13] In Aramaic we have אִתְגָּרִי, *to assail;* Syr. ܐܬܓܪ, *to strive, contend.* In Arabic, جرى ل او على means *to befall, to happen to;* but the original meaning is *to run;*[14] جرى الفرس, جرى الماء. Arab. جرى على corresponds to our phrase *to run against* or *to run into.* This may mean *to collide with* or *to result adversely* or *unfavorably for.* Assyr. *magrîtu* is a synonym of *nullatu* or, rather, *lâ ullâtu*,[15] adversity. Assyr. *garû*, to attack, Aram. אִתְגָּרִי, is equivalent to our *to run at a person.* The semasiological development is similar in Arab. صاب, which means in the first form *to pour out;* in the third, *to attack*, and in the fourth, *to befall.* The nouns مصوبة and مصيبة (plur. مصائب) mean *accident, misfortune.* This is

[11] See ASKT 16, 239-244; Meissner, *Seltene assyr. Ideogramme* (Leipzig, 1910) Nos. 2406-2446.

[12] See AL[2], 70; cf. AL[3], 93; contrast AL[4], 115; AL[5], 113.

[13] Delitzsch (HW 204[a]; cf. 392[b]) does not give *magrû, magrîtu* under *garû;* he seems to derive it from a stem מגר. In AW 25, l. 5 he referred for *magrû* to גרה, but AW 192, n. 11 he withdrew this etymology.

[14] In Assyrian we have *garâru* in this meaning; cf. n. 23 to my paper on *Selah* in *The Expository Times*, May, 1911.

[15] See ZDMG 65, 563, l. 14.

also the meaning of Assyr. *maxru* or, rather, *mixru*, which means originally *what confronts you, what you have to face, what you are up against.* Heb. מקרה has the same meaning, and in Assyrian we have *uqarrî*, he attacked, in connection with *usîq* = يضيق,[16] he hemmed in, and the noun *qûru* (for *qurịu*) ill luck, adversity.[17]

Mixru, adversity, calamity, is found in l. 103 of the Flood Tablet, *illik Ninip mixra* (or *mixrê*) *ušardî*, which has never been correctly understood. Geo. Smith rendered in his *Assyrian Discoveries* (1876): *Ninip went in front, and cast down.* Jensen translated in his *Kosmologie* (1890): *ließ Sturm* (*Wucht*) *hinterdreinfolgen;*[18] in KB 6, 236 (cf. 496): *läßt einen Angriff* (*auf das Schiff*) *folgen.* Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (1909) p. 84, l. 43: *ließ er* (Adad) *einen Wasserguß herunter strömen;* so, too, Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (1906) p. 230; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum AT* (1909) 1, 53, and in Ungnad & Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (1911) p. 56: *läßt den Widerstand* (?) *einherziehn;* Bezold in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, part 7 (1911) p. 20, l. 43: *läßt die Gegenströmung fließen;* but it means *he pours out calamity*, lit. *he causes adversity to flow.*[19] I have explained the line in this way for the past twenty years; in my translation of the Flood Tablet, which I prepared for Schrader's KAT³, and which was set up in 1895,[20] I rendered: *geht Unheil verbreitend* with the note *Eigentlich was zuwider ist, was einen trifft.*

Delitzsch (HW 404ᵃ) renders: *es kommt Ninib, ließ die Wehre sich ergießen,*[21] and (HW 403ᵇ) *arxu mixru ša Addari*

[16] Cf. Haupt, *Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) p. 32, l. 6 (JBL 26, 32).

[17] Delitzsch (HW 352ᵇ) gives קרי as כרה.

[18] So, too, Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 425; Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) p. 202 translated: *Ninib advances, the storm he makes descend.*

[19] Cf. Syr. ܐܪܕܝ, *to shed forth;* Arab. اردى = اسقط, also امطر الله عليهم.

[20] Cf. JAOS 32, 4, l. 4.

[21] Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (1891) rendered: *überschwemmte die Ufer.* I translated, 32 years ago, in my translation (set up in 1881) in

is explained by him as *the counterpart of the Adar*, the corresponding Adar month. He repeats this explanation in the new (fifth) edition of his *Assyr. Lesestücke* (1912) p. 168, l. 11. But both *mixru* and *magrû* mean *adversity:* Assyr. *mixru* means originally *what you have to face,* and *magrû* signifies *what you run against.* Consequently the Second Adar was called in Assyrian *the adverse* or *unlucky month of Adar.*

In a solar year with 12 months of 30 days it is necessary to add at the end 5 intercalary days, the so-called *epagomenal days* (αἱ ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι).[22] In Persia these five days are known as *Farvardîgân,* and are observed as All Souls' Days, just as in German Protestant churches the last Sunday of the ecclesiastical year is observed as All Souls' Day. Similarly the Fast of Esther, observed on the 13th of Adar, prior to the two days of feasting on the 14th and 15th of Adar, *i. e.* the ancient Babylonian and Persian New Year's festival, was originally an All Souls' Day.[23]

The variants of the Babylonian duplicate (S. P. ii) to the tablet with the names of the months (ASKT 64) were communicated to me by Pinches in 1880. I did not see the tablet; therefore I cannot vouch for the correctness of the reading *arxu ša Addari,* without anything between *arxu* and *ša,* in the fourth column of S. P. ii. This reading seems to me now very doubtful. Nor does Pinches' reading *mina-bi* in the first column of S. P. ii seem to be correct, although it is repeated by Delitzsch in the last three editions of his *Assyrische Lesestücke.* Sumer. *minâ-bi* means *doubled,* Assyr. *šunnû.* We find it in the names of a number of cuneiform signs which represent reduplications of certain characters. For instance, the single corner-wedge, which was originally a black disk[24] and which is

KAT², 62, 46 (cf. 504): *ließ unaufhörlich die Kanäle überströmen;* cf. Haupt, *Der keilinschriftliche Sintflutbericht* (Leipzig, 1881) p. 14.

22 Cf. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, second series, p. 182; KAT³, 329, 516, n. 2; I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie* (Tübingen, 1907) p. 167; p. 395, n. 1.

23 See Haupt, *Purim,* p. 21, l. 11.

24 See Geo. A. Barton, *Babylonian Writing* (Leipzig, 1913) 1, No. 365. This black disk represents originally a pit or hole, Assyr. *bûru* = Heb. בּוֹר. According to Barton (*op. cit.* part 2) this disk represents four

used as the sign for X, is called *gigurû;* the double corner-wedge, the sign for XX, has the name *gigurû-minâbi,* double *gigurû,* while the triple corner-wedge, the sign for XXX, is termed *gigurû-eššeku,* triple *gigurû.*[25]

Adar might be called a double month,[26] but the Second Adar is not a double month. It seems that Pinches' reading II-BI is a mistake for II-*u.* Strassmaier read II-*u.*[27] This would be *arxu šânû ša Addari* or *arxu arkû ša Addari.*[28] The name *arxu ša Addari,* as given by Pinches, is probably as incorrect as the commonly accepted reading *arxu MINA-BI ša Addari.* According to Strassmaier, it would seem that the correct reading of this variant was not *arxu ša Addari,* but *arkât ša Addari,* which would mean *After-Adar* (German *Nachadar*). Schrader (KAT[1], 248) regarded *makru* as a transposition of *marku,* from *ʿarâku* = *ʿaʿarâku,* to be behind, whereas Norris combined *makru* with Heb. מקרה (cf. KAT[2], 381, n. *). Both explanations are untenable, but there is a grain of truth in them.

Accordingly we have five cuneiform names for the Second Adar: (1) the Sumerian *iti-še-kin-kut,* the extra grain-harvest month;—(2) Assyr. *arxu šânû* (or *arkû*) *ša Addari,* the second month of Adar;—(3) *arxu mixru ša Addari,* the adverse month

originally separate signs, *viz.* (1) the disk of the sun—(2) the crescent moon—(3) the mouth of a well—(4) a complete circuit of what could be counted on the fingers (X).

[25] Cf. the *Schrifttafel* of AL[5], Nos. 94, 122, 136, 149, 181, 277.

[26] Cf. שני ארחים, *Rôsh ha-shanâh,* 19[b].

[27] See his *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis* (Leipzig, 1886) No. 4999. In AW 191, n. 6 Delitzsch stated that Strassmaier's readings were evidently wrong.

[28] For *arkû* (HW 242[b]) see e. g. Strassmaier, *Cyrus,* Nos. 148, 149, 151, 219, 242, 364; cf. BA 3, 410, l. 18; 435, l. 8; 436, l. 8. The First Adar (Heb. אדר ראשון, Aram. ארר קרמאה) is called simply *Addaru* or *Addaru maxrû;* see AW 190, l. 11; Strassmaier, *Camb.* p. 1, l. 8; BA 3, 416, l. 25. The common ideogram for *arkû* is EGIR-*u*; cf. e. g. v R 37, 58; Peiser, *Babyl. Verträge* (Berlin, 1890) p. 200, No. cxxxviii, l. 17; Strassmaier, *Nab.* No. 688. The common ideogram for *šânû* would be II-KAN; cf. Peiser, *op. cit.* p. 34, l. 21; Strassmaier, *Nab.* 436, 438, 439; *Cyr.* 54-60; *Camb.* 177-183, 226, 422. We can hardly suppose that the character which Pinches read *bi,* and Strassmaier *u,* is really *kan* (AL[5], 15, No. 107). Cf. also Meissner, *Altbabyl. Privatrecht* (Leipzig, 1893) p. 109.

of Adar;—(4) *arxu magrû ša Addari*, the unlucky month of Adar;—(5) *arkât ša Addari*, the After-Adar.

Assyr. *mixru* in the third name is not a substantive, but an intransitive adjective *maxiru*, just as we have in Arabic, *nimr*, panther, for *namir;* or *niʿma* and *biʾsa* for *naʿima, baʾisa;* and Assyr. *çixru*, small, for *çaxiru.*[29]

The unlucky intercalary month of the Second Adar was the thirteenth month, corresponding to the thirteenth sign of the zodiac, the raven;[30] therefore the number thirteen is unlucky.

[29] See WdG 1, 97; Delitzsch, AG², p. 171; Barth, *Nomina* (Leipzig, 1869) p. 115.

[30] Cf. Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.* p. 167; A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 11, n. 2; p. 61, 13.

The Babylonian Name of Palestine

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IN the Babylonian bilingual lists of countries there occur four equations,[1] the second member of which, in each case, reads, ^{mat} *A-mur-ri-e*, a phrase variously rendered as "western land," "land of the Amorites," "land of the Canaanites," "Syria," "Phoenicia," and "Palestine."

The first equation reads as follows:

kur mar-tu-ki = ^{mat} *a-mur-ri-e.*

Here *mar-tu* contains the idea of "sunset," while *tu* is a common ideogram for *erêbu* "enter,"[2] which, either with or without *šamši*,[3] means "the setting sun." The element *mar* usually equals *šakânu* "make."[4] It seems, however, in this connection, to have an abstract force, like *ša* (= *gar*).[5] *Mar-tu* therefore = "setting" and is a natural term for "western land." *Kur mar-tu* then means "land of the setting sun," an expression which is much used in the writings of the Babylonians and Assyrians to designate "the western land" which they called in their Semitic speech ^{mat} *Amurrê.*

The second equation reads:

kur ti-id-nu-um-ki = ^{mat} *a-mur-ri-e.*

The Sumerian side of this equation is certainly not ideographic, but purely syllabic. *Tidnu* (= Gudea Statue B vi 13:[6] *ti-da-num* "Palestine") is an Egyptian name, for we know that the Egyptians called the highlands of Syria *Tinu*,[7] which became

[1] II R 50 iii/iv 57-59 and II R 48 12.
[2] Br. 1072. [3] II R 39 15 e. [4] Br. 5820.
[5] Prince, *Materials*, s. v. *gar*, and p. XVII.
[6] *Découv. en Chaldée*, Vol. 2 p. x.
[7] W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 145.

in Semitic speech *Tidnu;*[8] *i. e.*, *tinu* equals *tinnu* and then *tidnu.*[9] Hence its appearance in our equation.

The third equation reads:

kur gir-gir = ^{mat} *a-mur-ri-e.*

According to S^{b}73,[10] the combination *gir-gir* has the value *tidnu*, the same as in the second equation. We know that *gir* is an ideogram for the human foot, which was considered a symbol of power. Note that *gir-gir* = *gašâru* "be strong."[11] Why the Babylonians took this double sign as a representation of the land of the west called *Tidnu* can only be conjectured. There must have been something about the land represented that suggested the use of this double symbol, which occurs, however, so far as I know, only in syllabaries and lists of countries. It might possibly refer to the mountainous character of Palestine; *i. e.*, a mountainous land = a strong land = *gir-gir.*

The fourth equation reads:

$^{(ti\text{-}id\text{-}nu)}$ *gir-gir* = *a-mur-ru-u.*

This is really an explanation of the chief factors of the preceding equation, namely, that *gir-gir*, called *tidnu*, equals *amurrû.* It is only incidental that the second *gir* is written with the upper and lower wedges coming to an angle. According to Brünnow,[12] the two ends of the second *gir* are reversed, so that the two *girs* stand, not as one foot following another, but as two feet, the toes of the one facing the toes of the other. The second *gir*, in my opinion, is simply by accident defectively written.

We come now to the second member of the four equations, viz., ^{mat} *a-mur-ri-e.* The second syllable of the word, happening to have the value *ḫar* as well as *mur*, *amurrê* was at first read *aḫarrê*, as if related to the Hebrew אחר. Readings from the Old Testament like הים האחרון "the western sea," seemed to justify this first conclusion.[13] The form *aḫarrê*, however, has been proved to be incorrect, as the following collocation will show. A study of the El-Amarna tablets, where the word is found written in three ways, *a-mu-ri*, *a-mu-ur-ra*, and *a-mur-ri*,

[8] *ZA*, 10 54.
[9] Erman, *Egypt. Gr.*, 19.
[10] AL^{3} 54.
[11] *HWB* 206.
[12] Br. 9220 and 9221.
[13] Deut. 11 24 and 34 2.

forces us to the decision that the pronunciation was always *amurrê*. An instance of the spelling *a-mu-ri* occurs in tablet 21 of the El-Amarna tablets of the British Museum, while *a-mu-ur-ri* may be found in Old Babylonian contracts,[14] as well as in the El-Amarna tablets. Hommel considered the word identical with the Old Testament אֱמֹרִי,[15] and even derived *mar-tu* from the unused fem. אֱמֹרֶת, a doubtful theory. The Aramaic form of the word, an example of which Professor Prince gives from the business dockets of Darius II.,[16] is also seen in a passage from the Talmud,[17] where the transcription of the Babylonian word appears as אוריא, which must be pronounced *awurriya*. In New Babylonian $m = w$, which is another proof that the word is *amurrê*, (m = ו).

Amurrê is no doubt the same as the *amor* of the Egyptians, whose use of the word throws some light on the antiquity of the people and the location of their territory. Egyptian records tell us that a Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty "plundered the land of *Ḳadeš* and the land of *A-ma-r*," and also mention the "river of the land of *A-ma*(*u-ra*)," namely the Orontes. They speak also of the "precious timber" of the "*A-mau-ira*" which was cut, evidently referring to the cedars of Lebanon.[18] The *Amor* of the Egyptians is no doubt, the same as the *Amurrê* of the Babylonians and apparently reached to Kadesh, situated on the banks of the Orontes, mentioned in the account of the deeds of Rameses II. See the portrait on the walls of the Ramessêum at Thebes.

The Scriptures give quite a clear presentation of the location of the Amorites, whom the Hebrews dispossessed. While there may be a doubt as to whether the word כנען is from כנע "bow down" (hence "low") and Amorite from אמר "high," yet these ideas "low" and "high" seem to appear in the early uses of the two words: "the Canaanite dwelt by the sea and the Amorite in the hill country."[19] In the period of the Exodus,

[14] Meissner, *Beit. z. altbab. Privatrecht*, 42.
[15] *PSBA*, XVIII 18. [16] Prince, *Materials*, 233.
[17] Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, 139.
[18] *Asien u. Europa*, 217, 218 and 228.
[19] Num. 13 29.

Moses contended with the two kings of the Amorites on the east of the Jordan, and Joshua with the twelve Amorite kings on the west. In later times, we find the land of the Amorites referred to by both the Elohistic and the Yahwistic writers as the country to be occupied by the Hebrews, namely, the whole of Palestine, both on the east and the west of the Jordan. This goes a long way towards explaining the generic use of *Amurrê* in Assyro-Babylonian to denote the whole of the westland.

We find *Amurrê*, or its equivalent *Martu*, mentioned very early in the Babylonian inscriptions, and often by the Assyrians. Sargon, king of Akkad, is believed to have gone at least as far as the Lebanon. The Omen tablets relate that Sargon went into *Martu* and smote the land and became the conqueror of the four regions.[20] Besides numerous sentences in the Omens descriptive of this king's journeys in the west, Thureau-Dangin gives a little tablet according to which "Sargon subdued the Amorite (*mar-tu-am*)."[21] Gudea, patesi of Lagash, also visited the land of the Amorites: "from Kasalla,[22] a land of the Amorites (*mar-tu*) great blocks of stone he brought out, and made a statue which he erected in the court of E-nana. From Tidanu, a land of the Amorites, marble in pieces he brought."[23] Nebuchadnezzar I., in mentioning his conquests, says that "he conquered the land of the *Amurrê*."[24] When we come to the Assyrian kings, particularly Sargon II.[25] and Ašur-

[20] XXX. *ûme Šarru-ukin ša a-na* ^{mat} *Mar-tu-ki illi-ku-ma* ^{mat} *Mar-tu i-ni-ru kibrat irbiti ḳat-su ikšu-ud;* IV R 34 obv. 5 and 6.

[21] *šanat Šar-ga-ni-šar-alim Amurra(mar-tu)-am in ba-sa-ar ikšud. Rêc. de tablettes chald.*, 85 and 124 (pl. 57) rev. col. i.

[22] *Kasalla*, elsewhere *Ka-ṣal*(NI)-*la* IV R 34 obv. 31, and *Ka-ṣal*(NI)-*lu-ki* IV R Obv. 22, is evidently a country and is probably a narrower term than *Mar-tu*.

[23] *Ka-sal-la ḫar-sag Mar-tu-ta dag-na gal im-ta-è na-rû-a-šú mu-dim kaskal ê-nana-ka mu-na-ni-du. Ti-da-num ḫar-sag Mar-tu-ta šir-gal lagab-bi-a mi-ni-tum. Découv. en Chaldée*, Vol. 2 p. x.

[24] *Ša dan-na* ^{mat} *Lul-lu-bi-i u-šam-ki-tu i-na kakkê ka-šid* ^{mat} *A-mur-ri-e ša-li-lu kaš-ši-i;* Nebuchadnezzar, Inscript. V R 55 9-10.

[25] *iš-tu* ^{mat} *Ra-a-ši mi-ṣir* ^{mat} *E-lam-ti* ^{amel} *Pu-ḳu-du* ^{amel} *Da-mu-nu Dûr-ku-ri-gal-zi ra-pi-ḳu mad-bar kali-šu a-di na-ḫal* ^{mat} *Mu-uṣ-ri* ^{mat} *A-mur-ri-e rapaš-tum* ^{mat} *Ḫat-ti a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša i-be-lu;* Sargon, Cylinder.

banipal,[26] we find numerous references to the *Amurrê*. The Old-Babylonian kings and the writers of the El-Amarna letters had applied the term to the territory that the Egyptians called *Amor*, that is, to Northern Palestine, which begins at the banks of the Orontes as one approaches from the east. The Assyrians, however, because they found the northern limit had been crowded to the south by the pressure of the Hittites, with whom they had almost always to deal in their western incursions, made the term cover Southern Palestine which, of course, included Israel and Judah. It seems probable then that the Amorites were of sufficient importance to impress their nationality upon the Assyro-Babylonian writers who therefore used the tribal name *Amurrê* as a designation of the whole of Palestine.

I R 36 12-13. *Iš-tu* ^{mat} *Ia-at-na-na ša ḳabal tam-tin ša-lam šam-ši a-di pa-aṭ* ^{mat} *Mu-ṣu-ri u* ^{mat} *Mu-uṣ-ki* ^{mat} *Amurrê rapaš-tum* ^{mat} *Ḫat-ti a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša nap-ḫa-ar Gu-ti-um* ^{mat} *Ma-da-ai ru-ḳu-u-ti;* Sargon, General Inscript., lines 16-17. *Journ. Asiat.* 1863.

[26] *U šu-u* ^{m} *Am-mu-la-di šar* ^{mat} *Ki-id-ri it-ba-am-ma a-na mit-ḫu-uṣ-ṣi šarrâni* ^{mat} *Amurrê ša* ^{il} *Aššur* ^{il} *Ištar u ilâni rabûti u-šad-gi-lu pa-nu-u-a;* Ašurbanipal, Rassam Prism, V R 8 15-18.

Ichabod

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THE expression אִיכָבוֹד occurs twice in the OT.; viz., in 1 S. 4 21 and 14 3, in each case of the son of Phinehas. The explanation is given in 1 S. 4 22 that the name was used, because גָּלָה כָבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל 'the glory had departed from Israel.' Some scholars, therefore, regard אִי in אִיכָבוֹד as privative = 'without glory'; *i. e.*, as an abbreviation of אֵין (thus Jensen, *Ztschr. für Völkerpsychologie*, xviii., p. 421), but אִי can be equally well construed as 'woe, alas' (אִיכָבוֹד 'woe for the glory'), as in Eccles. 10 16 אַי־לְךָ; 4 10 אִילוֹ.

The similar אִי in the proper name אִיזָבֶל was probably also an exclamation. The element זבל here is unclear, nor does Prätorius (*ZDMG*, lxxv., pp. 794-795) give any satisfactory explanation of it. In Assyrian *zabâlu* means 'bring, carry,' and has as a synonym *našû* 'lift up.' The stem *zabâlu* seems to be connected with the idea 'tribute' (*i. e.*, 'a bringing'), as we find *zabil dupšikki*, *zabil kudurri* 'tribute-bringer, tax-payer.' Note also the expression *ina zabal ramânišu*, probably 'as his own tribute,' and also ZA-BA-LAM = *mîširtu* 'taxes,' iv, 20, No. 1, 21. The element זבל appears also in the Phœnician names: בַּעַל־זְבֻל, שֵׁם־זְבֻל and, of course, in זְבוּלוֹן, all which may contain the same idea of 'bringing, giving' and hence 'value, treasure.' The name אִיזָבֶל, therefore, may mean 'woe, alas for treasure,'[1] and hence be similar in construction to אִיכָבוֹד.

The rendering 'woe the glory' for אִיכָבוֹד is apparently confirmed by the use in the Sumerian hymns of the woe-term *a-lig*, which appears in most passages as an apparent parallel to

[1] It is possible that זבל may indicate a god-name: the treasure, precious one (?).

איכבוד. *A-lig* is seen, especially in Tammuz hymns, in the following constructions:

CT. xv, 20, 4: *a-lig lig Da-mu-(mu)*
woe the mighty one, mighty one, my Tammuz
5. *a-lig dumu u-mu-un Mu-zi-(da)*
woe the mighty one, lord Muzida
6. *a-lig dimmer silim*[2] (KA-DI) *i-de za* .....
woe the mighty one, god of splendor, eye of ....
7. *a-lig dimmer lamga u-mu-un s(a-par)*
woe the mighty one, god, artificer, lord (of the net)
8. *a-lig li-bi-ir*[3] *u-mu-un* (.....)
woe the mighty one, overseer, lord of .....
9. *a-lig mu-lu sir*[4] (BU) *an-na-(mu)*
woe the mighty one, my heavenly light.

The same use of *a-lig* occurs in IV. 27 No. 4, 3: *Mu-ul-lil-la-ra a-lig* 'for Bêl, woe the mighty one.'

The entire question hinges on the exact meaning in this connection of *a-lig*, which appears in the word-lists with the following equivalents, easily classifiable into three distinct meaning-groups:

A. *a-lig* = *zi-i-lu*, Meissner, 883: 'power.' Here *a* is plainly abstract in force (cf. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. xvii, for full discussion) and *lig* 'power,' a common meaning; cf. Br. 6193 f: = *danânu, dannu, emêqu, idlu, izzu.*

B. *a-lig* = *i-nu*, Br. 11537 (cf. Meissner, 8880: *i-nu*? *ša mê* 'spring of water').

a-lig (Sum. val. *e-la*) = *mi-lum*, Br. 11538: 'flood.'

a-lig = *namba'u*, Meissner, 8886: 'water-spring.'

a-lig = *ši-il-lu*, Meissner, 8888: '*pudendum feminae*' (cf. Prince, *Amer. Journ. Philol.* xv., p. 112) from the idea 'water-spring, well,' as in Heb. **באר**. Note Haupt's interpretation of Eccles. 12 1: **זכר את בוראיך**.

a-lig = *ta-ti-ik-tum* from *natâku* 'pour out,' connected also with the water-idea.

[2] KA-DI with pronunciation *si-lim* = *tašrixtu* 'splendor,' Br. 746.
[3] *Li-bi-ir* = *nâgiru* 'overseer,' Br. 1133.
[4] *sir* (BU) = *nûru* 'light,' Br. 7530; *napâxu* 'shine,' Br. 7527.

In all the above equations, *a* = 'water' + *lig* 'strong'; in connection with water probably 'copious.'

It is evident that neither of the above groups assist in the interpretation of the *a-lig* of the Tammuz hymns. Here it should be noted, however, that *u'a* 'oh, woe' is a common meaning for *a*; cf. Meissner, 8694, quoting extensively from the Reisner texts, so that *a-lig* in the context of the Tammuz hymns, where it is clearly an exclamation of distress, can only mean 'oh, woe' = *u'a* + 'power' or 'powerful' = *lig*. Such an expression at once suggests איכבוד 'O the glory' which seems to be a parallel exclamation applied as a proper name. It should be observed that Heb. כבוד is adjectival 'powerful,' Ezek. 23 41, as well as substantival *passim*. The rendering of *a-lig* by 'O the powerful one'; 'woe the glory' or 'glorious one' in the Tammuz passages cited above is peculiarly appropriate to the situation, as the singer is lamenting the death of the life-giving sun during the winter months. We may classify then as Group C:

a-lig = *u'a* + *dannu* 'O the mighty one,' *CT.* xv. 20, 4 ff; 24-25 (see below).

a-lig = *il-lum*, Br. 11539: 'weak' from *alâlu;* cf. *ullu*, Meissner, 8881 = *il-lu.*

a-lig = *ni-i-lu* 'rest,' from *na'âlu,* Meissner, 8864.

a-lig = *šexru,* V. 22, 36 from שחרר 'be in difficulties'; cf. also *šaxrartu* 'need.'

The meanings 'weak, rest, be in straits' are to be regarded as secondary developments of *a-lig* = *u'a* + *dannu*, a common phenomenon in Sumerian (cf. Prince, *Materials*, pp. viii-ix).

The only passage which might appear to militate against the comparison of *a-lig* with איכבוד is *CT,* xv, 20,

24. *ne-šù šeš-zu mulu er-ri ba-an-tu-tu*
unto this thy brother, the man of weeping, wilt thou enter?

25. *ne-šù Dumu-zi mulu a-lig ba-an-tu-tu*
To this one Tammuz, the man of *a-lig*, wilt thou enter?

In this couplet, *a-lig* is plainly a substantival parallel to *er*(A-ŠI)-*ri* in the preceding line. Langdon (*Psalms*, p. 30, note 4) even explained this *a-lig* as *a-ri*(*b*), a supposed philo-

logical equivalent of *er-ri*. On p. 272, *op. cit.*, however, he rightly saw the improbability of this comparison. The reading *lig*[5] = 'power, powerful' for KAL seems assured by the frequent *-ga*-suffix following the KAL-sign (cf. especially Prince, *Materials*, 223-224).

A-lig, as shown above, is usually an exclamation, but it is used in *CT.* xv. 20, 25 as a substantive. Similar uses of exclamations as nouns, however, are not uncommon in the cuneiform literature, as, for example, HT. 122, 13: *bêltum ina zurub libbi šimme; zarbiš addîki axulapia*, 'O lady, hearken to the trouble of my heart; bitterly I present to thee my "how long';" HT. 115, rev. 12: *ina u'a u â šunurat* (*kabitti*) 'with Ah and Oh my soul is sighing.'

The use of the exclamation *a-lig*, therefore, as a noun, in no way prevents our comparing its composition and usual construction with the Heb. אֵיכָבוֹד, of which it appears to be a satisfactory prototype.

[5] Zimmern, *Tammuzhymnen*, p. 230, reads A-DAN; cf. also Vanderburgh, *AJSL.*, xxvii., pp. 86-87.

The Hyksos at Heliopolis

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THE actual beginning of the work of excavation at Heliopolis by Professor William Flinders Petrie, February 26, 1912, was an event in Egyptian exploration whose full significance can hardly yet be appreciated, while the outcome may be disappointing. Archaeologists are constantly reminded by their experience that it is the unexpected that happens, and they have occasion to cultivate the stoicism of the Spanish proverb, "Blessed are they that expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed."

Not much is definitely known concerning the ancient city of On, Egyptian Annu, but the glorious reputation of that ancient capital and religious center spreads its glamour over the early history of dynastic Egypt and also glows like an aurora on the horizon of patriarchal history. The general statement of the inauguration of the work of exploration at Heliopolis is being published by Professor Petrie in the annual volume of the British School in Egypt. It is not intended to give in this paper a full account of that work, mainly this first season a work of survey and of trial trenches, but to give, out of the closest observation of the excavations while in progress day by day, some account and some discussion of what appear to be remains of the Shepherd Kings, the Hyksos, at Heliopolis.

We are informed by Manetho as quoted by Josephus (Against Ap. i, 14) that the Hyksos under their first king Salatis made the city of Avaris "very strong by the walls he built about it," and that they "built a wall around all this place, which was a large and strong wall." Until within a few years it was not possible to do more than speculate concerning the character

of that stronghold with its fortifications large enough for a great army, the imagination, meanwhile, being all the time haunted by the familiar idea of a fortified camp furnished us by the Romans, manifestly a worthless idea for this case. In the year 1906 came the uncovering of the ruins at Tell el-Yehudiyeh by Professor Petrie. Among its surprises was a wall of mud brick enclosing a large area. The wall was about 40 meters wide, but with sloping instead of perpendicular sides. The enclosure was in the form of a truncated oval or parallelogram with rounded corners, and measured about 350 meters in its shortest diameter. There was no gateway, but, instead, a sloping causeway led over the wall. The stratum of debris to which this wall belonged yielded a large number of scarabs of the Hyksos period and very few of any other time. The character of the wall prepared for defense by "bow people," such as the Hyksos probably were, the suitability of this wall for a fortified camp or great stronghold, the probable location of Avaris, and the more positive evidence of the Hyksos scarabs of this stratum of debris, led Professor Petrie to regard the fortress as an early stronghold of the Hyksos, either the one at Avaris or another similar one of about the same period. Now this Tell el-Yehudiyeh lies about four miles north of the site of Heliopolis. Its ancient Egyptian name was Ḥres and it was closely related to the religious institutions at the great capital. The history of the conquest of the delta by the Hyksos is not known, nor is it sure that they ever gained possession of the capital at Heliopolis, but considering their long reign and their practical suzerainty over lower Egypt the occupation of the capital is most probable, indeed, practically certain. If Joseph was prime minister under one of the Hyksos kings, as asserted by Syncellus, it seems certain that the Hyksos then had control of the capital. Joseph was given as a wife the daughter of the Priest of On, which implies that the religious establishment at On was in good measure subservient to the king.

In view of all these facts, the conditions found at Heliopolis during the past season of work are most interesting and suggestive. Schiaparelli who conducted a limited work of excavation

at Heliopolis a few years ago, the full report of which was never published, announced that he had discovered near the obelisk a great wall about 40 meters wide and pierced by mysterious tunnels. Professor Petrie, after considerable preliminary survey work, set the workmen to cut a transverse section through this wall reported by Schiaparelli. The wall was immediately found and proved to be 40 meters wide at this point. The "tunnels" upon thorough investigation were found to be streaks of sand in a central core of the wall which had been thrown up by the builders to lessen the brick work. About this core the brick-work was erected. The core consisted for the most part of mud, but here and there sand had been dumped in. In a cutting of the wall these deposits of sand had the appearance of tunnels which had been filled up with sand. The completion of the transverse section made their real character at once apparent. The wall was shown to have sloping sides with a perpendicular height of about three meters. Another section of the wall was made on the axis of the temple area to find the place where the gateway of Egyptian temples was uniformly placed, but the wall was found to be continuous. A public road passing at this point prevented an examination in front of the wall for an inclined approach that may have passed over the wall. The course of the wall to the right and the left was easily traced upon the surface and was in the form of a truncated oval or parallelogram with rounded corners, having a width in its shortest diameter of 350 meters. It is not yet possible to determine the long diameter. Not many antiquities of any kind have yet appeared, but even in the small extent to which excavations have been carried this year some Hyksos pottery has been found in connection with the wall.

Thus we have at Heliopolis a remarkable repetition of the conditions found at Tell el-Yehudiyeh: a wall with sloping sides for defense with the bow in both places, an inclined causeway over the wall at Tell el-Yehudiyeh instead of a gateway and the absence of any gateway at Heliopolis at the point where the gateway is to be expected at the entrance of the temple area. The dimensions and shape of the wall agree

also, it being 40 meters wide and in the form of a truncated oval whose short diameter is 350 meters. Add to this the Hyksos remains in the similar strata. The concurrence of all these evidences raises a strong presumption that we have here at Heliopolis the same kind of fortification as at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, erected for the same purpose and by the same people. And this doubling of the evidence at these two places is a decided step forward in the positive identification of the builders of these strange foreign defences in Egypt with the great Hyksos invaders. It would be natural, surely, that foreign invaders having entered the land and made a fortified camp at Ḥres should repeat this method of defense at some other points at least, before they finally, if ever, gave up their character as bow-people, and adopted the Egyptian method of defense. If Tell el-Yehudiyeh be Avaris or a similar fortification, what is more to be expected than that when the Hyksos became masters of the capital four miles away they would fortify the seat of government there, including the stone temples, in the same manner as they had fortified at Avaris? Moreover the negative argument is of value here. Who else than the Hyksos were ever of sufficient importance and power in ancient Egypt to erect such foreign defenses and especially at the great capital of Heliopolis? Altogether it seems most likely that a new chapter has been added to the history of the patriarchal times and that further excavations will admit us to the place of the seat of the Hyksos government in the days of Joseph.

Studies in the Diction of the Psalter

Second Article

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SUCH statistical inductions as are attempted in these Studies have validity and value only when derived from considerable masses of data. When drawn from too small an area, they may be inconclusive or misleading; but if the number of items regarded is somewhat large, the method may be expected to yield something substantial. It is clear, however, that the results also depend upon how the materials for analysis are selected, since a casual heap of unrelated data may be examined without any useful result whatever.

In the analysis reported in our first article the data were secured by using the "rare-word test," which, it was assumed, in a collection like the Psalter should help us to separate the relatively peculiar or individual poems or passages on the one hand from those that are relatively conventional or commonplace on the other. It was assumed that among these latter passages are to be found that which is most characteristic of the completed collection—whatever served as the "connective tissue" to include and envelope the diverse or peculiar elements that were gathered together. Whether the type of material in this "connective tissue" is relatively early or late, and whether it belongs to the whole process of psalm-production or represents a final phase in it (or some other limited phase), were not questions to be pressed at the outset. In the primary reasoning it was simply essential to bring together that which probably had some internal connection. In this instance the effort was made to detect mechanically materials that must have such

connection because of their intrinsic character, regardless of whether or not there were any external marks to identify them.

In the analysis now to be attempted the materials are secured by a different process. We propose here to examine the poems the titles of which refer to "David." Here is a group that has an ostensible literary unity. Whether this is a real unity, and what kind of a unity it is, are not primary questions. In the older commentation the titles were held to indicate actual authorship. In most recent commentation these titles are supposed to refer to antecedent books, bearing some name like "The Prayers of David" (see 72:20). But opinions differ widely as to whether all the poems with these titles belong to a single real group, even an editorial one. Hence one of the objects of analysis is to determine whether the ostensible group is fairly homogeneous or not, while also trying to distinguish the characteristics of its main nucleus. Furthermore, since the present distribution of these "David" titles may not be as wide as it was originally, another object is to identify poems, now without such titles, that probably belong with the "David" series. Inasmuch as the "David" poems, as they stand, make up about one-half of the whole Psalter, any fresh study of the facts has obvious importance.

In the present study we assume at the outset that the "David" series includes seventy-five poems, including, that is, all that bear the "David" title in the received Hebrew text, *plus* 10 and 33, which are imbedded in the otherwise continuous series of Bk. I. These poems fall into three subgroups, namely, D^1, 3-41; D^2, 51-65, 68-70; D^3, 86, 101, 103, 108-110, 122, 124, 131, 133, 138-145.

In the LXX "David" titles appear also with 33, 43, 67, 71, 93-99, 104, 137. How this fact is valued depends much upon general assumptions about the history of the Psalter. For example, Briggs in 1906 called all these Greek titles "conjectures of later editors," though, of course, in 1872 he regarded them differently.

The text-length of the D subgroups, as compared with the total text of the Psalter, is as follows: D^1, 25%; D^2, 12%; D^3, 10%—a total of 47%.

Following, now, the plan used in our first article, we proceed

to isolate statistically the vocabulary specially characteristic of the "David" poems. In this case the process is puzzling, since we cannot be sure that the three subgroups are upon an equal footing. If they are of equal significance, the subgroups may be disregarded and the whole body of poems handled as a unit. But if not, differences between the subgroups must be considered. In the process here used it is assumed that D 1 is the most characteristic subgroup (as it is much the longest), and that D 2 stands next in importance.

As before, the test-list is made up by noting those "common" words that seem to "prefer" D poems, that is, that show in those poems a larger proportion of all their occurrences (in the Psalter) than the size of the D group or subgroups would warrant (the normal percentages being D 1, 25 %; D 2, 12 %; D 3, 10 % = D entire, 47 %).

The following test-list is drawn, like that used in the first article, from the 235 "common" words (those that occur in more than twelve poems). It includes primarily those words that are decidedly above normal in D 1 (that is, the percentage of whose occurrences there, as compared with their total occurrences in the Psalter, is much above 25). To these are added other words that are much above normal in D 2 or D 3, or both. In each case the percentages of the word's occurrences are given, both in the three subgroups and in the entire D group:

Test-List Derived from "David" Poems.

	D 1	D 2	D 3			D 1	D 2	D 3			D 1	D 2	D 3	
אבד	38	4	8	50	גיל v.	47	11	0	58	יָשַׁע	36	13	13	62
אדני	21	26	21	68	דָּבַר	29	13	16	58	יָשַׁע	45	20	0	65
אָוֶן	35	24	10	69	דם	24	24	5	53	יָשָׁר	44	4	4	52
אָוֶן	20	13	27	60	דרשׁ	46	8	8	62	כבוד	37	10	12	59
איב	38	17	10	65	הם	36	18	4	58	כון	25	20	10	55
אין	46	12	15	73	חנן	39	15	12	66	לב	42	13	7	62
איש	37	10	16	63	חסה	56	16	8	80	לשון	34	23	11	68
אֵל	38	16	11	65	חפץ v.	35	24	6	65	מגן	42	5	5	52
אנוש	26	21	16	63	חָרַב	28	22	6	56	מוט v.	33	21	4	58
את prp.	33	0	21	59	חשב	44	6	17	67	מָוֶת	36	18	0	54
בוש	44	9	6	59	טוב adj.	29	13	15	57	מי	45	14	5	64
בָּטח	43	17	4	64	יהוה	39	2	11	52	מען	31	13	16	60
בל	56	3	9	68	יָחַד	37	11	11	59	מרמה	57	21	7	85
בקש	48	19	7	74	ירא adj.	33	7	15	55	נָגַד	47	11	14	72
בָּשָׁר	25	19	13	57	ירד	25	17	21	63	נָפַל	41	10	10	61
גָּדַל	44	19	13	76	ישב	28	15	13	56	נפשׁ	29	13	17	59

	D^1	D^2	D^3			D^1	D^2	D^3			D^1	D^2	D^3	
נצל	39	18	14	71	פָּעַל	39	19	12	70	שנא	34	10	12	56
נשׂא	35	6	8	49	צרִיק	48	13	8	69	שפה	39	18	11	68
סבב	36	14	5	55	צרה	42	4	17	63	שׁאול	38	6	19	63
סָתַר	50	18	5	73	קום	41	6	10	57	שָׁבַר	38	14	5	57
עון	36	23	10	69	קָרַב	11	26	26	63	שית v.	37	3	17	57
עז	18	27	9	54	ראשׁ	33	9	30	72	שָׁכַן	26	26	4	56
עזב	59	0	0	59	רַב	40	9	12	61	שלום	37	11	11	59
עין	36	6	12	54	רָנַן	39	6	7	52	שלם	41	24	0	65
I. ענה	33	18	15	66	רדף	45	5	15	65	שָׁמַע	34	15	8	57
עָנִי	53	10	13	76	רַע	44	13	14	71	שָׁקַר	29	14	14	57
עָצַם	53	13	13	79	II. רעע	47	7	0	54	תחת	45	0	23	68
עת	46	9	5	60	רָשָׁע	45	5	11	61	תפלה	19	19	23	61
פֶּה	29	15	14	58	שָׂמַח	33	13	6	52					

Although the great majority of the above 86 words are obviously eligible because of some marked "preference" for D poems, some are open to question. Thus אבר and נשׂא show small total percentages; 6 are below normal in D^1; 34 are below normal in D^2; and 33 are below normal in D^3. But in each of these cases there is some reason for inclusion. Certainly these words have a markedly greater proclivity for the D poems than other "common" words.

In using the list it is wise to omit יהוה, since its distribution is confused by the Elohism of 42-83.

The remaining 85 words occur about 3150 times in the whole Psalter. Of these, 1950 are in D poems (62%)—1165 in D^1 (37%), 425 in D^2 (13+%), 360 in D^3 (11+%). In all, the 85 words constitute about 17% of the whole Psalter text.

It will be noted that 15 words here were also given in the "liturgical" test-list used in our first article, viz.: אדני, את, בטח, בקשׁ, בשׂר, גיל, חסה, טוב, יהוה, ישׁע, כבוד, מי, נצל, צרה, שׁמח. This fact suggests that considerable L material occurs in the D poems, though the usages emphasized in L are not always the same as those emphasized in D.

Before taking up the particular meanings of these words that are most frequent in D, we may well note how the total occurrences of the words are distributed through the whole Psalter, since this will give a hint as to cases where, apparently, non-D poems are included in the D series, as well as of other cases where, perhaps, D poems have lost the D title. The following table shows the percentage of the total text-length of each poem occupied by the above 85 words (omitting יהוה):

%	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
37	34	—	—	—	—
36	—	—	—	—	141
34	38	54	—	—	120
32	—	—	—	—	140
31	36	—	—	—	123
30	7, 10, 24	—	—	—	—
29	37	—	—	—	—
28	17	—	—	—	—
27	4, 6, 12, 21, 35	55	86	—	133
26	3, 16	62, 64	—	—	—
25	11, 13, 31, 41	—	—	—	109, 112, 125, 143
24	9, 14, 25, 27	63	—	101	—
23	15, 32	—	—	—	—
22	5, 26	49, 51, 53, 59, 70	—	—	—
21	28	57, 66, 69, 71	—	—	—
20	22, 39	52	—	93, 97	122
19	40	—	—	—	130, 138
18	23, 30	—	—	92, 94	—
17	1, 19	56	85	—	110, 142
16	18, 20	61	88	—	116
15	33	—	73, 74, 82, 84	—	119
14	29	50, 65, 68, 72	—	—	118, 144
13	—	44, 48, 58	81, 83	102	115, 121, 131, 145
12	8	—	75	91	107, 126, 129, 147
11	—	46	76	106	108, 124, 128
10	—	60	79	90, 96, 103, 104	113, 139
9	—	43, 45	77, 78, 89	99, 105	127, 146
8	—	42	87	98	132, 135
7	2	47	—	—	—
6	—	67	80	—	111, 149
5	—	—	—	95	137
4	—	—	—	—	114, 134
3	—	—	—	—	150
2	—	—	—	100	136
1	—	—	—	—	148
0	—	—	—	—	117

So far as this table is significant, it indicates that the most doubtful D poems are 8, 29, 33, 58, 60, 65, 68, 103, 108, 124, 131, 139, 144, 145, and, on the other hand, that 49, 66, 71, 92, 93, 94, 97, 112, 120, 123, 125, 130, at least, are lexically cognate with D. Note, also, the following points: the contrast in position between 1 and 2 (the prefatory poems of the completed collection), between 49 and all other "Korah" poems, between 67 and its neighbors, between 111 and 112 (in spite of their likeness in outward form), etc.

The utility of such a test-list as that before us lies in its helping us to designate the main lines of thought that characterize the body of poems from which the list is derived. To reach results we may either regard the words and their usages one by one, or we may make an inductive summary of the contents

of such poems as have a large proportion of these words. Data secured in either of these ways may need to be checked up somewhat by other data, but in general they prove decidedly significant.

It will be found that the dominant class of conceptions brought to the front by using this test-list relates to the antithesis or opposition between "the righteous" and "the wicked", regarded from the standpoint of the former, which, being that of the speakers, is naturally assumed to be correct and ideal. Though this general antithesis is common in religious expression that deals with personality and conduct, in this instance it appears with remarkable peculiarities of sentiment, implying that the occasion of the utterances is exceptional. Besides the natural condemnation of what is regarded as abstractly wrong, there is a bitter protest against the concrete injuries that "the godly" suffer at the hands of "the ungodly." Hence there is a pervasive tone of exasperation, passing into commination or imprecation. The historical implications of this will be discussed later. It is first in order to give some summaries of the lexical facts in detail.[1]

At least two-thirds of the 85 words in the test-list (omitting יהוה) are wholly or partially applied to "the wicked" (or the rebellious). As a rule, these usages occur much more often in D than elsewhere. The full force of the facts can be felt only by examining the passages one by one. But the general drift of the evidence is shown by the following condensed summary, in which in each case the figure given first is that of the number of times in D, and the second figure the number in non-D:

רשע, all cases, 50/32; פעל (usually ptc. with און), of the wicked, 14/5; און, all, 20/9; רע and רעה, all, 45/19; רעע, against the righteous, 7/5 (3 cases of a "union" of "evil-doers", all D); יחד, of evil combination, 8/5; דם, of violence, murder, 7/0; מרמה, all, 12/2; שקר, all (exc. 33 : 17), 11/9; דבר, of evil speech, 20/7; חרב, of evil power or speech, 7/3; שלם, "rendering" evil, 3/0; איש, of the bad, 12/4; אנוש, do., 9/1; הם, do., 10/3; איב, toward the speaker, the righteous, or God, 43/11; so, also, שנא, 15/12; קום, 15/5; רדף, 8/6; סבב, 8/6; חשב, 9/0; שית, 3/0;

[1] Here, as in all such cases, it is difficult to devise ways of presenting the data without occupying an inordinate amount of space. Yet the effort is worth making to give some idea of the usages that are statistically so much more frequent in D poems as presumably to be characteristic of them.

ישב, 7/5; שכן, 1/0; כון, 7/2; נשא, 2/1; בקש, 9/2; דרש, 1/0; גדל, 4/0; שמח, 5/1; גיל, 1/0; נפל, 6/2, and punitively, 9/5; so, also punitively, בוש, 11/7; שבר, 5/4; אבר, 9/9; ירד, 3/0; רדף, 2/1; שאול, for the wicked, 3/2. לב, of the wicked, 13/10; so, also, קרב, 8/1; לשון, 14/5; פה, 16/6; שפה, 9/2; עין, 9/3; ראש, 6/2; עצם, 2/0; רגל, 4/1. מי, in questions by the wicked, 5/0; מען, "because of" enemies, 6/0; נגד, "in the face of" enemies, 4/0; רב, of multiplied hostility or evil, 12/5; תחת, evil "instead of" good, 6/1. Taking all these together, with a few others that are either uncertain or (in four cases) balanced against D, the above list covers 800 references, of which 69% are in D. There can be no question, then, about the validity of the inference that the test-list shows a strong tendency in D to characterize the purposes and deeds of "the wicked."

The usages relating to "the righteous" are equally numerous and striking, often being other applications of the same words:

צדיק, of men, 30/15; ישר, of men, 10/4; פעל, of the good, 2/1; טוב, of well-doing, 12/1; איש, of the good, 6/4; תם, do., 2/0; יחד, of good combination, 3/2; ירא, of godliness, 15/12; רדף, with good as object, 3/0; מוט, of stability, 10/2; כון, of fidelity, 5/3; שלום, of welfare or in greeting, 13/9; שלם, "at peace" 1/0; ישב, of good act or state, 13/8; שכן, do., 8/1; שנא, toward evil, 6/5; קום, of the righteous, 6/4; שית, do., 4/3; חפץ, of devotion, 2/3; תפלה, with "my", 13/6; גדל, toward God, 5/1; גיל, do., 10/8; שלם, in vows, 4/5; סבב, of ritual acts, 2/0; נשא, do., 6/6; דבר, of good utterance, including prayer, 8/8; בקש, toward God, 9/3; so, also, דרש, 8/9; חנן, Hthp., 2/0; בטח, 27/9; חסה, 20/5; שמח, in indignation, 2/0. עני, of a class, often including the speaker, 23/7; עון, subjective, 13/2; שבר, of the "broken" heart, 4/1; בוש, of chastening, 9/7; נשא, do., 3/3; רעע, reflexive, 1/0; עוב, of commitment to God, 1/0, or of God's withdrawal, 8/5; סתר, of God's withdrawal, 7/6, or of His protection or forgiveness, 6/0; צרה, all cases, 15/7; עת, with "trouble", 5/0; ירד, to death, 7/3; מות, of the righteous, 11/4; שאול, for the righteous, 6/3. נפש, of righteous personality, 81/50; בשר, figure for self, 3/1; לב, of the righteous, 47/28; so, also, קרב, 5/1?; לשון, 7/4; פה, 13/14; שפה, 8/4; עין, 15/18; ראש, 8/1; רגל, 9/9; עצם, 10/3. רב, absolute (plur.), 8/3, and of "the great assembly," 5/0. מי, in questions by the righteous, 22/15, and as an interjection, 3/0; נגד, "in the face of" the righteous, 12/4; תחת, of supremacy, 6/4. Here may be noted the stylistic use of negatives, as אין, 49/18; אל, deprecatorily, 64/28; בל, 20/10; and, still further, את, prep., 14/9. The sum of these usages is about 1900 cases, of which 67% are in D. The characterization of "the righteous", then, seems to be another of the strong tendencies of D.

Besides these, we have many words and usages regarding the personality or acts of God, especially as applied to "the righteous", such as שמע, 29/12; אזן, 9/3; ענה, 26/10; חשב, 3/0; דבר, 4/7; מען, in prayers,

appealing to God's attributes, 7/5; ישב, of His regality, 9/8; שכן, 2/3; יְשַׁע, 33/18; יָשַׁע, 13/7; נצל, 29/9; נשא, help or forgiveness, 7/3; כון, 14/18; מנן, 10/7; חרב, 2/0; חנן, 17/9; חפץ, 7/3; סבב, 2/1; קום, 8/10; פעל, 2/2; שית, in blessing, 5/1, or punitively, 5/6; דרש, "require" or "inquire into", 4/0; שנא, toward evil, 2/0; רעע, punitively, 0/2; שלם, do., 3/1; צדיק, of His personality, 4/3; ישר, do., 3/3; עז, of His attributes or works, 24/20; רב, do., 6/4; רגל, 3/2; נגד, "in the face of" God, 8/5; the name אדני, 36/18; כבוד, in praise, 26/15. The sum of these usages is about 575 cases, of which 63% are in D. Certain forms of expression toward God, with certain attitudes toward Him, are also characteristic of D.

If space were available, many details might be added to these bare summaries. For example, in the cases of both רשע and צדיק D prefers the singular, while non-D prefers the plural; similar phenomena appear with other words for persons. Neither of these critical words occurs in the "Korah" poems, and others are either wanting or very rare in both "Korah" and "Asaph" poems.

There are some interesting points in the style of D. One that is apparent from the above lists is the frequency of phrases that refer to some bodily organ or member. Another is the frequency of certain negatives, among which, however, we do not find לא, which is more frequent in non-D (152/185).

The above statements are rigidly confined to a particular test-list of "common" words. They might be greatly extended by adding certain usages of many other "common" words, which, because of the distribution of their total occurrences, did not happen to be included in the test-list; and also by taking up a large number of synonyms and other terms from the hundreds of "rare" words. These are but hints of further evidence that might be adduced.

However much opinions may differ as to some details in the collation of data indicated in the foregoing summary, it is impossible to escape the general fact that in the D poems there is a remarkable emphasis upon the antithesis between "the righteous" and "the wicked", an emphasis that is not parallelled in extent or intensity in the rest of the Psalter, taken as a whole. Furthermore, as has been already suggested, this antithesis is viewed in a special way, due, apparently, to some conditions that made it poignantly felt. As one studies the poems or passages in which the test-words are most abundant, he cannot escape the sense in them of a vehement protestation, in-

dignant or dejected, on the part of "the righteous." The occasion of this seems to be an extensive experience of detraction and abuse, apparently reaching to personal violence. Hence the sentiments expressed are those of personal outrage, mingled with jealousy over indignity done to the righteous cause which the speakers represent. If there were but few such poems and passages, they would offer no large problem; but their number and interrelations have always provoked inquiry.

In the older commentation, the problem was regarded chiefly as one requiring moral justification or apology, since this "imprecatory" spirit seems contrary to the ideal or Christian spirit. When the Davidic authorship was posited, the apology sought to amplify the details of the personal history of David and his typical place as the establisher of the Chosen People in their historic eminence and the forerunner of Him who should more fully display the divine righteousness and justice. And, whether or not the Davidic authorship was assumed, there was usually an effort so to connect the expression with the ideal mission of Israel as to make it represent the normal attitude of the godly to the general power of evil in the world. It is in some such sense as this, of course, that these poems have been universally adopted by the Christian Church for constant liturgical use.

In the newer commentation, the emphasis of attention has shifted. Usually the moral aspect is lost sight of in the discussion of the antecedent question as to the historical situation implied. It is clear, at all events, that we are in no position to deal fairly with the moral question involved until we have some true notion of the circumstances. But here, as in so much Psalter criticism, we find no well-defined consensus among scholars as to what period and what circumstances are to be supposed. Some critics are apt to discuss each poem or passage largely by itself, often with much subjective impulsiveness.

The facts here presented have to do with this question of historic situation. They seem to indicate that we should not neglect the possibility that the many poems of complaint which largely constitute the D section of the Psalter express primarily the sentiments of a particular class within the Jewish community.

It is not necessary to make much of any theory that "the praying I" is not the individual who writes, but the group or cause that he represents. Every poem must have had an individual author, or be made up of parts so composed, and so must be held to give voice to personal views and feelings. But the fact that such a mass of poems was accumulated, and was so preserved in respect and usage as eventually to become part of the accepted Scriptures, forces the conclusion that in some way they express the convictions of a considerable body of persons, so that they were felt to have utility for permanent liturgical iteration. The actual point of view may play back and forth between what is personal and what is collective. But the critical phenomenon of these numerous poems, connected by many links of thought and expression, and massed together in a canonical collection, is one for which no merely individual or personal explanation will suffice. Some historical inquiry must be made as to their occasion and the conditions that they represent.

There is no doubt that the more characteristic D poems are controversial and polemic. Probably no one would seriously contend that they deal with a purely ideal or abstract situation, or that they are open to an allegorical interpretation. What occasions them is rather real and concrete. Hence we ask, Is the controversy that of godly Israel against the heathen world, or that of one class within the circle of Israel against another class? Many considerations may be suggested in favor of the latter view. We are here concerned with those points that are emphasized by vocabulary statistics. Although such statistics seldom supply really demonstrative proof, they may tend to establish a strong presumption that cannot be ignored.

(a) The D poems contain very few clear references to Israel as a *nation* among other nations, or to its national history. Here they are in strong contrast with some other parts of the Psalter, especially with K and A, as well as many poems elsewhere.

The word עם, clearly applied to Israel as the Chosen People, is relatively rare in D (14 times. as against 46 elsewhere). So with נחלה (4/17), "Israel" (17/42), "Jacob" (6/28). צאן, used figuratively, does not occur in D.

Passages displaying a historic consciousness are extremely few in D, even when liberally estimated, and those that occur are mostly in poems uncharacteristic of D. The Exodus may lie back of the theophany-passage in 18 = 144, as well as of passages in 33, 68, 103 and 124; and the entrance into Canaan is implied in 9, 10, 110 and 143. The only other clear touches of national experience are those in 60 = 108 and perhaps at the close of 51. When the amount and vividness of these are compared with what is found in the long historical poems (78, 105, 106), or with the rather numerous allusions in both K and A, in the Songs of Ascents, etc., the historic poverty of D is obvious.

It should be admitted, however, that among the poems that have a large proportion of D words—those in the table on p. 163 whose percentage is (say) twenty or more—there are some that may be given a national interpretation without great difficulty. In particular, among them is 21, one of the "royal" poems. But the amount of such material is small, and the necessity of a national meaning is not clear.

(b) On the other hand, in the D poems generally the arena of conflict seems to be a narrow one. The strife is continual and persistent. It is interlocked with the relations and occupations of ordinary social life. The attacks most often specified are those of derision, slander and malignant innuendo, inspired by motives of settled hatred and oppressive cruelty. There are hardly any expressions that can be construed as referring to either military assault or political subjugation. In several cases the cleavage that is lamented is one between neighbors and friends, those normally so knit together that their rupture brings peculiar sorrow and evil.

It is not necessary to cite the evidence *in extenso*. One has but to read the poems and passages in which D words are most frequent to see that statements like the above are well supported. When these utterances are massed together they give a striking impression of a social and moral situation of great intensity. And, on the whole, the picture presented is fairly consistent with itself.

Without dwelling upon minute points that might be mentioned, it is well to call attention to certain passages that strongly imply that the attrition complained of is within the community. The chief of these are in 10, 12, 15, 17, 26, 31, 35, 37, 38, 41, 55, 59, 64, 69, 101, 109, 141.

If, then, it is the local community which is in view, what are we to suppose was the situation that provoked these passionate outcries? We may assume either one when Judaism was divided

against itself into an orthodox or conservative party and a lax or radical one, or one when the faithful Jewish nucleus was invaded and overrun by an aggressive alien population that derided the austerity and exclusiveness of all Jewish practice. Both of these hypotheses may be defended. But the weight of evidence leans toward the first, as at least the primary occasion of the distress expressed. The strict followers of Yahweh and observers of the traditions stand in opposition to those of their compatriots who have fallen away into worldly habits and who have begun to scorn and attack the faithful. At the same time we may reasonably suppose that such defection is likely only when there was a large infiltration of foreign influences, especially such as came with the Greek domination. The contest would then be not only between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, but between Judaism and Hellenism.

It is conceivable that the situation might be pushed back into the Exile, when the captive people were subjected to strong alien influences in the East, and were slowly being sifted into the two classes implied in the accounts of the Return—the faithful minority and the renegade majority. The objections to this are the total absence, in the D poems, of all touches of "local color" that favor this hypothesis, and the many clear hints that the national sanctuary is at hand.

It is much less conceivable that the situation might be carried back into the time before the Exile. Against this are the lack of references showing temptation to idolatry or distinct national self-consciousness.

It is more than likely that strong partisanship and even the habit of "imprecation" began in the Exile, making its later intensification easy. But in the Exile the question was as to loyalty to Israel as against submergence in an outside heathen world, while later, in the Greek period, it was as to loyalty to the rigid Jewish ideal, at its own center, as against a gradual weakening of that ideal into something else without losing its name or its sense of continuity. The first was essential treason and apostasy; the second might be regarded as merely progressive liberalism.

Just here another notable fact requires attention. In the D poems the godly class is not represented as actually in power. Rather it is in dire distress, in fear, in want, often on the verge of despair—at least such is the implication of the language. In eighteen of these poems occur terms like עני, עני and אביון, all used as if they were well-known designations. These words

may mean either of two things, or both together — either that the class in view was *voluntarily* poor, or that their piety amid unfavorable conditions resulted in their being *involuntarily* poor. In the one case we catch the hint of an ascetic ideal; in the other, of social persecution and ostracism. Though we may hesitate to press the former hypothesis, it cannot be wholly ignored. Poverty seems to be at least one of the badges of piety. On the other hand, it is implied that material and social power is in the hands of the well-to-do, who, as a class, are religiously lax, if not irreligious, and who, besides, are not only oppressive, but contemptuous of their neighbors.

In the D poems there are few exceptions to this general picture. One notable case, however, is the passage 37 : 21-26, with which is closely associated the whole topic of 112 (nominally non-D). Both of these are acrostic poems of the moralizing class, the purpose of which is more homiletic than descriptive.

As we consider the situation thus suggested, we may surmise that the time in view is that when the opportunities for commercial relations with the outside world began to disturb and corrupt the social life of Judaism. The question is not between Judaism and idolatry, but between piety and worldliness. It is difficult to suppose that the prosperous class is "the people of the land" in the early Persian period, standing against the zealots who would restore the old order. It is much easier to believe that here we have a clear indication of the growing commercialism of the Greek period, during which Jerusalem was able to advance toward the dignity and wealth that could ultimately tempt the cupidity of an Antiochus.

Without further elaborating this point, we should now note the fact that the D poems, though giving a massive impression such as has been emphasized, are by no means all of the same kind. What is here being magnified is more characteristic of D^1 than of D^2, very much more so than of D^3. It is uncertain what is the bearing of the colophon in 72 : 20 upon the question of an antecedent collection. Apparently there was such a collection, known as "The Prayers of David," which ended with 72, but we have no sign as to where it began or just what it contained. If all or most of the poems now marked "David" were

in it, why are some of them inserted in the Psalter at later points, and why are the two groups in Bks. I-II so widely separated? And what is the explanation of the doublets that occur, especially 14 = 53, 40b = 70, and 57 + 60 = 108? Why, also, is one group Elohistic while the others are Yahwistic?

It seems that the way out of this tangle must lie in assuming that the earlier collection ending with 72 was not large, containing not more than the D poems of Bk. II. This collection came to the editors in an Elohistic form, and was retained by them substantially in that form. But, besides, they seem to have had other materials bearing the name of "David" that were Yahwistic, and among them a few doublets, which they utilized as they stood. If there be value in this contention, a special interest attaches to the relation of D^2 to the "Korah" poems that immediately precede, and which are Elohistic, as well as to the "Asaph" poems, also Elohistic, that follow in Bk. III.

It is usually assumed that because Bk. I precedes Bk. II it was editorially earlier, and that the other Books follow in progressive sequence. With this goes the further assumption that the D poems in Bk. I form part of the early collection of which 72:20 is the colophon. But both assumptions may be wrong. A serious objection to the second is the phenomenon of doublets between Books I and II. And there is no essential necessity of the first. It is perfectly conceivable that Bk. II may have been arranged and in use before Bk. I was collected, and that Bk. I was *prefixed* in the final Psalter for special reasons. The purpose of what follows is to emphasize reasons for holding that this is the probable fact. The two topics of importance are the relation in age between D on the one hand and K and A on the other, and the whole question of Elohism. The latter will be dealt with by itself after the former has been discussed.

When we consider the poems of K^1 (42-49) in detail, it is fairly clear that they have to do mostly with national conditions, past or present. Of the D spirit of reaction against social or community injury there are only microscopic touches (in 43 and 49, neither of which may be original parts of the series). Much the same can be said of the poems of K^2 (84-85, 87-88), though the point is not so clear or so well sustained there. The facts

that the two K subgroups are separated, and that one is Elohistic and the other not, raises a question about their original unity, or, at least, about how they come to appear as they do.

42 is a poem of longing for the Temple privileges. The double emphasis on the taunt, "Where is thy God?", with the geographical hints of v. 7, suggests distance from the homeland, rather than exposure to contumely there. If we lay aside v. 9, which is a plain interpolation, and the refrains, which seem to be liturgical antiphons, we have a compact, intense cry of distress, such as fits well into Captivity conditions. Wellhausen's reading of v. 7 increases the vividness of this.

43, at first sight, is only a part of 42, and is so counted by most commentators. In the Hebrew it bears no title, as if belonging to 42. But in the LXX 43 is marked "A Psalm of David." If originally the third strophe of 42, how did it become separated, and how did it acquire this title? Lexically, it differs much from 42, and its tone is different. Hence—in spite of incurring so scornful a remark as Hupfeld made about Venema in this connection—we may venture to call 43 a later addendum to 42, but still probably exilic, or, if postexilic, adapted to its predecessor.

44 has two features foreign to the style of D—the studied reference to ancient history, and the stress on national disgrace. The protestation about apostasy (vv. 18-22) is also to be noted. Laying aside vv. 5-9 and 24-27, which are not surely of the same texture as the rest, leaves a well-formed poem of national depression, which it is natural to connect in some way with 74 and 79. If we suppose 43 to be a later inset, the K series would then open with two effective poems of the same general type.

45 is the first of four poems that not only differ from their neighbors, but in some respects are unique. As I have elsewhere argued (JBL 1900), 45 seems to be highly composite, using some materials belonging to an actual royal situation, but with imposed expansions adapting it to a Messianic application. We simply observe here that it, like its companion poems, implies a vivid sense of preexilic times. The passage addressed to the "daughter" is cognate with passages in II Is. that refer to the personified genius of Israel. All this implies a situation different from that in the D poems.

46, 47 and 48 have a common spirit of triumph, implying a fresh memory of national deliverances. Touches about the stability of Jerusalem suggest an assurance that belongs with preexilic conditions. Specific cases of divine intervention seem to be in mind—whether or not the discomfiture of Sennacherib is immaterial. Probably all have been reworked considerably, but the original themes and spirit are still fairly clear.

49 is in strong contrast with all these. It is a didactic poem, dealing with the problem of riches and poverty. It has not much to connect it with the atmosphere of persecution in D, although lexically it is by far the closest of the K poems to the usage of D. Standing at the end of the subgroup, it may well be a late addition. If really a part of K, it is an example of the moralizing movement of which there are many examples imbedded in D.

The subgroup K^2 is a miscellany. It is broken in two by 86, a rather nondescript specimen of D. At the end stands 89, which we may consider as somehow connected with the preceding poems.

84 differs from 42, which superficially it resembles, in that it does not imply removal from religious privileges. Its spasmodic structure suggests that it may be a cento, of which parts remind one of the Songs of Ascents. If the speaker be collective Israel, it may be a meditation on the Restoration.

85 implies that a national disaster has occurred, but that it is being repaired. It closes with a peculiarly lovely passage.

87 is a unique burst of patriotism, centering in the thought of the Holy City. If 86 is interpolated, then the juxtaposition of 85 and 87 may help the interpretation of both. It is notable that the terms Rahab, Cush and Philistia occur elsewhere in the Psalter only in 45, 60 = 108, 68, 83—all in the Elohistic section.

88 returns to the dejection of 42 and 44. Lexically, it has many links with the D poems, though here the humiliation is the act of God, a visitation very different from exasperating persecution. If 88 and 89 are related, as the titles perhaps imply, the evident national quality of 89 explains the sense of 88.

As to K in general. note (a) that it contains but one "royal" poem, 45, which seems to be an old ode reworked for a new purpose; (b) that it has no acrostic poem, and only one didactic poem, 49, which stands apart from the rest, and no references to the Law or its strict observance; (c) that it has no allusions to sacrifice, except the slight implications of 43:4 and 84:4; (d) that liturgical expressions are few, and all these have the look of interpolations; (e) that there is a general lyric freshness that cannot be missed, including touches of style that in D are found only in the poems that seem most alien to the general tone of that group.

Of the D test-words, note that many are wholly wanting in K, viz.: אֵת, אנוש, און, (prep.), בקש, גדל, דם, דרש, חנן, חסה, חפץ, מי, נצל, ענה, עת, צדיק, רדף, רשע, שלם; and several more are wanting in K^1, viz.: אין, בשׂר, ירא, (adj.), יָשַׁע, נשא, עין, עני, שכן, שלום. Many more occur but once. Since K is so small a group, there is less assurance about a test-list for it analogous to that drawn up for D. About 35 "common" words are at least twice as frequent as the size of the group would warrant. Of these, only 8 are at all frequent in D (none important in the latter),

while at least 15 are very infrequent or wanting in D (including, for example, צבא, עיר, אב, יעקב, צאן, ציון, הר, עֶבֶד, etc.). Lexically, then, there is a striking difference between K and D, though the difference is greater between K^1 and D^1 than between other subgroups.

The Asaph group is larger than K, and more varied in character. Between A and K there is a considerable general affiliation in lexical features, but A has other affiliations as well. If there is any sort of homogeneity in A, special attention is due to the unparallelled poems of national catastrophe, 74 and 79, and also to 78, the longest of the "historical" poems. There is no doubt that the tone of D is heard at several points in A, but not enough to be characteristic.

50, though marked "Asaph," stands detached, between K^1 and D^2. It opens with a theophany (somewhat as in 18, but with Zion as the place), and proceeds to an assize before God of the חסידים and the רשע (sing.). The former, who are "My people" and "Israel," receive a remarkable instruction about animal sacrifice, and the latter is rebuked for social iniquities like collusion with theft, adultery, lying and slander. Both sections close with a call to "offer sacrifices of תודה," which is appropriate to neither, if תודה means a material offering. (Probably this call is later than the rest of the poem, and very likely תודה means vocal praise.) The only parallels to the sacrifice-passage are in 40 and 51 (both in D). The teaching about evil-doing also recalls D. Lexically, 50, like 49, is considerably related to D. Hence we infer that it is either (a) a composite of two fragments in the style of D, with liturgical antiphons added, or (b) a liturgical poem with an inserted passage about "the wicked." In any case, it stands apart from the rest of A in substance and style.

73 is also concerned with "the wicked" (here plur.), and the problem of their prosperity. The emphasis on riches and then on death recalls 49, and the references to violence and scoffing recall D. Nothing decisively prevents holding that it was originally an exilic meditation over the riddle of the national disaster (not even v. 17, which cannot be taken to prove that the Temple is standing), or that, as with 49, it represents the reflections of the Wise, such as might occur at any period.

74 and 79 arouse special inquiry, since they concern an extraordinary national calamity. If pertaining to the same event, they supplement each other—74 depicting the destruction of the Temple, 79 the massacre of the people and the degradation of the nation. 44b is usually connected with these. If rightly so, it is more cognate with 79 than with 74, and is less vivid than either, though equally passionate. But

44, like 74, embodies an appeal to ancient history. At the end of 79 is an antiphon that is obviously incongruous.

Is the topic the sack of the city by Nebuchadnezzar or that by Antiochus? The facts cited might belong to either, and the feeling would be natural in both cases. Correspondences may be traced either with II Kgs. 24-25 and Lam., or with I Mac. 1. Great weight has been attached to 74: 8-9 as supporting a Maccabaean date; but the argument from the allusions here is not conclusive (for instance, we are in no position to say that in the 6th century B. C. there was nothing to which מועד could be applied, and on the absence of prophets see Lam. 2: 9). The case cannot be settled so summarily, as the whole Psalter comes into the question. The difficulty lies in the fact that making these poems Maccabaean involves not only making most of the Psalter similarly late, but then providing time for its growth and gradual codification—all prior to the LXX. The Psalter seems to have owed its canonic place to settled liturgical use. For this time must be allowed. Here it differs from a history or a prophecy. This external peculiarity demands fullest weight in framing a historical hypothesis. The Maccabaean theory, then, is to be accepted only as a last resort, not because essentially objectionable, but because of its historical difficulties.[1]

Many lexical remarks suggest themselves regarding 79, 74 and 44, but space fails for them here. The three poems have several verbal links. Specially notable are חרף and חרפה, of national disgrace, coupled with defiance of God, as in the stories of Goliath and Sennacherib, and in Neh., Jer., Ezk., &c.; the same sense occurs in 89 and probably in 42, but 18 other cases in the Psalter are all personal. Another interesting word is נֶצַח, 50% of whose occurrences are in K + A (with this cf. עד, only 18%, and עולם, only 17%). Still another is מאבל, which is found only here.

75 has probably been very much reworked. Its nucleus is a forceful passage on the supreme rulership of God (vv. 3-9).

76 has an exultant reference to divine interpositions in the national history, probably events like those celebrated in 46-48.

77 is a pensive, but trustful, comparison of the dark present of national humiliation with the past, especially with the memory of the Exodus. It is probably composite, vv. 17-21 being apparently an appendix.

78 is the longest and most striking of the "historical" poems. It represents one strain of the national consciousness, dwelling on selected events from the records and handling them homiletically. It exhibits a didactic spirit, but, in spite of the earlier verses, not clearly one that much magnifies the Law. Analysis raises many questions, as, for

[1] Most recent critics argue for the Maccabaean date, but on the other side are Kessler (1899), Kirkpatrick (1902), Briggs (1906-7).

example, whether two narratives have not been fused together, and also what interpretation is to be put upon the references to "Ephraim" (vv. 9, 67).

80, like 77, dwells on the contrast between a distressed present and a past when divine favor rested on the nation. It centers in a beautiful metaphor of the "vine" transplanted from Egypt and spreading from "the sea" to "the River" (cf. Ezk. 17). At the opening note the stress on Joseph, Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh—a sense of the tribes rare in the Psalter (never in D, except 60 = 108 and 68).

81, while like 80 in general tone, is peculiar in emphasizing allegiance to God as against "strange gods," and in its reference to the trumpets of the new moon. The former links it with 44b and 50. Though not a lament, its monitory purpose implies a national need of rebuke.

82, like 75, dwells on the supremacy of God among "the gods," but the train of thought is obscure. Perhaps the conception is of a world whose ruling forces, though really under the empire of the true God, are in rebellion and disorder. Hence the final call to God to resume His sway. (vv. 3-4 may not be original.)

83 is obviously national, both in occasion and in citation. It may be the concrete expression of what 82 veiled in abstraction. Israel is attacked by a miscellaneous league, for which the only Psalter parallels are in 60 = 108, 87 and 137. On the whole, these cannot be made to yield much for the Maccabaean hypothesis. They rather confirm the impression that the background here, as in the preceding poems, is that of the Exile.

As to A in general, note (a) that it contains no "royal" poem; (b) that it has no acrostic poem, or anything like the moralizing poems of Bk. I, except, possibly, 73; (c) that it contains no reference to sacrifice, except in 50—a doubtful member of the group; (d) that liturgical passages are few and all probably interpolations; (e) that the handling of national history, past and present, is extremely definite, implying, in the case of 74 and 79, that the facts are not far distant in time. Hence, like K, it presents much general contrast to D.

Of the D test-words, note that many are wanting here, viz.: אזן, נדל, גיל, חסה, ירא (adj.), ישר, סבב, סתר, עזב, עצם, שמח, שאול; and 21 more are found only once (notably צדיק), several of them in places where possibly interpolation from D may be suspected. A is rather larger than K (A, 10% of the Psalter, K, 7%), but still too small to yield a large special vocabulary. About 30 "common" words are at least twice as frequent as would be expected. Of these, none is specially frequent in D, while 15 are infrequent there (including אהל, ברית, צאן, יעקב, אב, ישראל, נחלה, &c.). Note, too, that 3 A words are not found in K (אכל, אור v., ישראל), and that the number emphasized in *both* A and K is rather small (עבר, אב, יעקב, עזר, נצח, עליון, צאן).

If the whole vocabulary of K and A is considered, we find that the

two together use about 1000 words (K, 536; A, 751; common to both, 291), and that about 310 of these are not found in D (12% of K, 17% of A). These non-D words are distributed fairly evenly among the poems, with two notable exceptions—82 has none of them, and 43 only one (quoted from 42). Of the rest, 46, 49, 50, 77 are rather weak, while 45, 48, 76, 80, 81, 83 are notably strong. The words that appear in this list are extremely interesting, as they emphasize the pronounced difference in literary texture and thought-range between these groups and the whole of D. For example, the number of words referring to natural objects and to implements is significantly large.

In view of these considerations, with perhaps others that might be developed, we conclude that K and A, as groups, are so different from D in texture, spirit and allusion that different conditions must be assumed for their origin. Furthermore, K and A present enough apparent connections with the Exile to favor the view that, as groups, they belong to that period. In comparison with them, D seems to be later, since the nationalistic tone of K and A is replaced in D by one that we may call "orthodoxic," and the resentment once felt toward aliens for invasion and oppression gives place to resentment against those within the community who desert and deride the faithful.

Three questions at once emerge as to the validity of these inferences—(1) Why is it inferred that internal strife is later than external? (2) What does it signify that D^2 lies between K and A, and, like them, is Elohistic? (3) What is to be said about the poems in D^1 that are out of harmony with the general tone of the group?

As to the first question. Israel lost its autonomous government and distinct political existence with the Exile. The overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar was so drastic that no full return to the ancient national feeling was ever possible, not even in the Maccabaean outbreak, except in the minds of a relatively small class. But the disaster did not obliterate the national loyalty, as the spirit of the Return abundantly demonstrated. It changed its quality. The old intensely political ambition took on more of the religious hope that gathered force as Judaism advanced. The Psalter preserves signs of these varying phases. In Bks. II-III especially are vestiges of the sense of Israel as an independent state, crushed, but vividly recalling its past glory. In the D

poems is the depiction of the internal conflict of ideas and practices that goes with a changing social order, with but slight outlook upon the world at large. But in the "royal" poems and in some of the liturgical ones are marks of the rise of a new ideal, more or less nationalistic in terms, but religious in essence —the epochmaking conception of Israel as the Messiah.

This line of argument regarding the sequence of things might be considered *à priori* in nature, resting on prejudice or presupposition. But it is strikingly supported by lexical evidence, and, in fact, has fixed itself in the writer's mind as the direct result of inductive investigation of the lexical facts, with the necessity of finding reasonable explanations for them.

In the writer's mind the probability that K and A are in general earlier than most of D and also than the pervasive "liturgical" material (L) was first suggested by the fact that in both K and A are verses in either the D or the L style that seem incongruous with their context and are so situated that they may readily be considered interpolations. If a chart of all the verses in the Psalter is prepared and on it are noted the occurrences of the L and D test-words (in their most characteristic usages), it proves that in most of the K and A poems these words are relatively few and much scattered, except in certain spots. The implication is that these spots are those where interpolation has taken place, sometimes by the insertion of whole verses, sometimes, perhaps, by the remodeling of parts of verses. In most cases one can see reasons why the interpolation was made, if the original poems had been preserved from a time when conditions were different from those when, presumably, the last stages of Psalter-formation were in progress. Without entering upon the extensive discussion of details, we simply give a list of the verses in K and A among which probably are to be found examples of this general phenomenon, viz.: 42 : 9, 6 = 12 = 43 : 5; 44 : 5, 8, 9; 45 : 18 (and probably many details in the body of the poem); 46 : 11, 8 = 12; 47 : 2, 7, 8; 48 : 2, 9-12; 49 : 6, 15-16; 50 : 6, 14, 16-22; 73 : 25, 28; 74 : 8-9?, 19, 21; 75 : 2, 10, 11; 76 : 8-10; 77 : 14; 78 : 4; 79 : 9, 13; 80 : 8, 15, 19-20; 82 : 3-4; 83 : 17, 18, 19; 84 : 5, 9, 13; 85 : 7-8. (In this list possible L and D interpolations are combined, since all that is in view is to indicate the priority of K and A to both L and D.) It is impossible to show, *per contra*, any similar list of passages in D that have the appearance of being interpolated from K and A.

Another line of lexical argument has already been hinted at. The D poems, except in those cases that are plainly uncharacteristic of the group, contain relatively very few references to objects in the world of nature, such as features of the earth's surface, vegetation, animals,

the heavens and their phenomena, and also relatively few references to the constructions and implements that man makes and uses. The K and A poems, on the other hand, like some other groups in the Psalter, make abundant mention of these things. Whether this literary opulence is due to a freer contact with nature and with the activities of life, or to a different use of literature, is a large question. For our purposes here it is enough to observe that the richer style is surely more likely to be the earlier. It may also imply a different habitat or habit of life.

As to the second question. It must be frankly admitted that there is a real difficulty for the theory here advocated in the fact that D[2] is closely associated with K and A by position and also by its Elohism. If, as will be urged at length in the next article of these Studies, the Elohism of Bks. II-III belongs to an earlier period than the pronounced Yahwism of Bk. I, and yet if in Bk. II is a large group of D poems, with much of the plaintive quality that we are here connecting with social friction and reaction, then the argument as to the sequence of things seems to fall to the ground.

To meet this objection, we may urge that there is every probability that internal conflict between the strict and the lax existed in every period, and doubtless found verbal and literary expression. Indeed, the whole range of the prophetical writings illustrates this. Accordingly, there is nothing surprising in the appearance of strong poems of distress and imprecation from what we are calling the exilic stage of the development. Yet, if thus we suppose that D[2] is relatively early, why do we suppose that D[1], which superficially resembles it, is considerably later? And what shall be done with the poems that have been classed as D[3]? It seems to the writer that the evidence of vocabulary points to the probability that both Bk. II and Bk. III were progressively built out to their present dimensions—that D[2], with 49 and 50, is subsequent to K[1], and that K[2], with 86 and 89, is subsequent to A. But D[2], though akin in general sentiment to D[1], differs from it in texture and contents in such a way that it is probably earlier, representing a time when the stress of class conflict had not become so fully established. D[3] represents either the same stage as D[1] or one still later.

In general, we may assume that the three great constituents

of the Psalter literature—liturgical, plaintive and didactic—were all in evidence throughout its whole evolution, however long that evolution may have been. But careful study seems to show that in each of them there were successive stages, distinguishable and even contrasted. It is the great problem of Psalter criticism to attempt the definition of these stages in their probable chronological order. What is here in view is to suggest that the great plaintive strain presents several distinct aspects, and that the aspect most characteristic of D^1 differs from, and seems to be subsequent to, those aspects that appear in Bks. II-III generally, except in passages that may be influenced by D^1.

Probably the most difficult passages for our theory are ones like 55:10-16, 21-22; 59:7-8, 15-16; 64:2-7; 69:2-13; 70; etc. It is not impossible that some or all of these are examples of accretion upon material that was originally less personally vivid. Discussion of this question will be more convenient at a later point, since it turns largely upon the intrusion of Yahwistic matter into the Elohistic section.

There can be no doubt about the presence in D^2 of much material that is so peculiar that it stands vividly in contrast with the comparative conventionality of most of D^1. 51 is unique in its way (in spite of some partial analogies with 32); 52, in its most characteristic thought, is matched only by the little 120; 53, with its inexact doublet, 14, stands out in some isolation from its surroundings; 55:2-9 is lyrically singular; 58 is one of the most peculiar of all the poems; 60, and its partial doublet, 108b, stands alone in reference to some historic event or situation; 65b is without much parallel; 68 is notorious for the difficulty of many passages and of its plan. The presence of such passages predisposes one to believe that D^2 is representative of a freer literary stage than D^1. But it must be admitted that there is also much that links Bk. II with Bk. I. It seems possible to argue that D^1 presupposes the existence of D^2, and also that the final editing of D^2 was under influences related to the formation of D^1.

It may be significant that the doxology at the end of Bk. II is by far the most elaborate of the series, though we need not assume that it is as old as the Book. It is also more closely related to the poem that precedes than any other.

Probably phenomena in the titles of Bk. II are also significant, such as the terms מכתם and משכיל, and the historic occasions named in 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63.

The poems arbitrarily grouped as D^3 vary much in quality. With D^2 may perhaps be associated the four Songs of Ascents (122, 124, 131, 133) if they have any claim to be counted with D at all. With D^1 may be ranked 86, 101, 109, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144a. 110, 139

(exc. vv. 19-22, which recall D^1), 144b are each unique in its own way, and stand apart. 103, 145 are cases of the incorporation into D of material that properly belongs to L.

As to the third question. The D groups are not homogenous. Within them are specimens of writing different from that which is most characteristic of D. Some of these appear like isolated vestiges of styles not otherwise well represented, as for example, 8, 29 (main part), 65b, 68 (parts), 110, 139, 144b. All the acrostic poems are within the D circle except 111, 112, 119—of which 112 appears rather clearly to belong to the D family. The affiliations of these poems show that they are not far removed in time from D proper, if at all. The fact that the first of the prefatory poems prefixed to the completed collection is closely related to 119 in thought and diction suggests that the monitory style that usually marks the acrostics was prominent at the latest stage of Psalter development. Of the poems usually called "royal," 18, 20, 21, 61, 63, 110 are in D, and 72, 89 may represent stages of progress leading toward D. Here, again, the fact that the second of the prefatory poems in the completed Psalter belongs to this class suggests that the complicated thought that played to and fro between the historic David and the ideal of Israel was prominent at the close of the evolution. The frequent juxtaposition in D of "liturgical" poems or passages with others of extreme complaint seems to show that one of the last influences upon the collection was that of those who sought to render all its contents suitable for use in public worship and to give them a tone that should not seem unduly pessimistic.

It is surprising to observe that almost all the stronger references to "sin" and "guilt" are in D. So with the more definite references to sacrifice and even to the Temple. As already noted, D has very few passages dealing with natural objects or phenomena, and what there are seem like relics of older literature.

Regarding these facts some rapid remarks may be hazarded. Didactic writing probably began in the Exile, at first standing in some relation to that called "prophetic" (which was essentially didactic in nature). But it tended more and more to ethical moralizing, and finally paid special attention to legalistic regularity (after the fashion of the still later Rabbinism). Its ultimate

tendency in the Psalter is illustrated by 1 and 119. The "royal" poems represent a gradually developing line of thought, rooted in certain passages in the histories and prophecies. David, as Israel's first king, came to be eponymic, and his story was viewed symbolically. Ultimately, "David" came to mean the faithful nucleus of the nation, or its personified genius, the term being applied collectively, like "Israel" or "Jacob." In popular fancy the historic stories of David became typical of the history of the faithful, and so to certain poems were prefixed captions recalling those stories (or, perhaps, suggesting the lections in which those stories were given). In the poems themselves the realistic and idealistic points of view often appear together, fused and confused. The calling of one or more collections of poems by the name of "David" is naturally explained by supposing that they were associated with the experience and sentiments of the faithful.

In spite of the references in D to things pertaining to the Temple, we may query whether these poems represent the official point of view of the sanctuary. This latter is much better connected with the "liturgical" matter generally, most of which lies outside of D. Rather may we refer what is most characteristic of D to the earnest laity, and hence may suspect that it is an evidence of the movement of thought and sentiment that ultimately expressed itself in the institution of the Synagogue. If this be in any degree true, we may suppose that in the final editing of the Psalter there was the uniting of more than one line of effort, so that the completed collection contained elements derived partly from the embryonic Synagogue, partly from the Temple, and partly, perhaps, from a school of moral teachers somewhat distinct from both.[1]

[1] Certain questions about the relation of the above argument to facts in the O. T. Apocrypha and to the warfare of parties in the latest period of Judaism will be discussed in the last division of these Studies.

The Genealogies of Jesus

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THE question of the reconciliation and interpretation of the genealogies of Jesus as they appear in Matthew 1 1-17 and Luke 3 23-38 has been a subject of earnest discussion since before the time of Sextus Julius Africanus, from whom we have an explanatory reconciliation written before 240 A. D. I will not burden the reader with a review of the voluminous literature, most of which I have not read, but refer all interested to Peter Vogt, *Der Stammbaum Christi bei den heiligen Evangelisten Matthäus und Lukas* (*Biblische Studien* XII, 3, Freiburg, 1907) and to J. M. Heer, *Die Stammbäume Jesu nach Matthäus und Lukas* (*Biblische Studien*, XV, 1, 2, Freiburg. 1910). All the possible natural interpretations appeared early and have been often repeated. They are as follows: 1) Both genealogies belong to the father Joseph and the differences must be removed or explained; 2) Both belong to Joseph but do not have to be reconciled, for one represents the natural descent, the other the legal; 3) One is the genealogy of Joseph, the other of Mary. A word should perhaps be added about the second. The Jewish law required a man to take into his household the childless widow of a brother and raise up children to continue the name of the brother. Thus Joseph was said to be the natural son of Jacob but legally the son of Heli, who had died childless. As Heli and Jacob were stepbrothers having the same mother but different fathers, the two genealogies naturally gave the lines of different families, uniting however in David. Thus in substance Julius Africanus. It would have been equally easy to find the legal descent in Matthew, the natural in the Luke genealogy, and in like manner the third method of reconciliation

might have a double form according as we assign the Lucan genealogy to Mary or Joseph. Into this controversy I shall not enter. It is sufficient to note that the genealogies of Matthew and Luke differ absolutely in the portion from David to Joseph, but agree from Abraham to David. Luke alone has the part from Adam to Abraham. Furthermore, Matthew agrees with the Old Testament in the main, and for that reason his genealogy has sometimes been called the kingly genealogy, while that in Luke was called the priestly.

A different turn was given to the discussion by the discovery of a notable variation in the form of Matthew 1 16 in the Sinaitic Syriac and related authorities[1]. The main points of the discussion as emphasized by this discovery are as follows: the genealogy in which descent from father to son is traced as far as Joseph appears in direct conflict with the virgin birth as set forth in the immediately following verses 18-25. This opposition is sharpest in verse 16, where we read "and Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ." Yet the only variant attested in Greek MSS is in the Ferrar group, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριὰμ ἐγέννησεν. This form is supported by all the more important Old Latin MSS and the Curetonian Syriac. It appears to be an intentional change, made with the thought of further harmonizing the genealogy with the virgin birth. In the oldest Syriac MS, the Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest of the fourth century, we find the opposite form: "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus called the Messiah." This is supported by the Syriac *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* and by two MSS of the Palestinian Syriac. With the publication of the Sinaitic Syriac in 1894 many scholars seized upon this peculiar variant as positive proof that the opposition between the genealogy and the divine birth was irreconcilable, and that the latter must be a later insert in the text of Matthew; it was of course claimed that Syr S represented the original Matthew text for verse 16. Yet in the work cited Burkitt with regret discards this view and derives the Old Syriac variant from the form found in the

[1] For handy citation of all the variants see Burkitt, *Introduction to Evangelion da Mepharreshe*, p. 258ff.

Ferrar group and Old Latin MSS, while Heer p. 180 accepts the text of Syr S as old, if not original, but interprets it, "Joseph, to whom Mary the Virgin was betrothed, caused Jesus to be enrolled in the Book of Births as his son." The difficulty which the defenders have in saving the text of Matthew is apparent. The general proposition, that the genealogy is inconsistent with the virgin birth, seems practically unavoidable.

In Luke, where the story of the divine birth has never been called in question, the inconsistency is just as decided; and besides the insertion of the genealogy at 3 23 is extremely awkward, coming as it does directly after the voice from Heaven proclaiming him the son of God. Even if we should be willing to omit the whole story of the divine birth, as given in the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke, we should still find the same belief a natural inference from other passages of all four Gospels: e. g. Matthew 3 17 ("this is my beloved son"), Mark 1 1[2] ("Son of God"), 1 11 ("thou art my beloved son") Luke 3 22 (*ditto*), 4 41 ("thou art Christ the Son of God"), &c. Cf. John 1 34;[3] 3 35, &c. For Paul note Gal. 4 4: "God *sent forth his son*, made of *a woman*, made under the law." It is true that no one of these passages is convincing by itself, but their combined evidence accords with the belief in the virgin birth which was undoubtedly held by the Church from a very early period. For my purpose this is sufficient, as I do not propose to discuss its origin.

With this state of the case in the Gospels and Paul, it remains to attack the genealogies, if we will remove inconsistency. That critics have not already solved the problem in this way is not surprising, for there can be no question that the genealogy is a Jewish idea and was known to the early Church; cf. among many passages, Rom. 1 3 (of the seed of David according to the flesh), 2 Tim. 2 8 (Jesus Christ of the seed of David), Acts 13 23; John 7 42; Luke 1 32; Matthew 9 27; 21 9; 22 42; and it is implied in Luke 24 27. A genealogy was the natural adjunct

[2] ℵ 28, 255 I_R [191] Epiph[427] Or[1,389] Bas Tit[manich] Serap Cyr Victorin Hier omit.

[3] ℵ* 77, 218, e Syr[cu] have "the chosen one of God."

to this Old Testament prophecy and may well have been traced out early in the history of the Church. But such a genealogy to be consistent with the divine birth must give the descent of Mary, not Joseph, as is apparently the case in both Matthew and Luke. Also in the other earlier sources the genealogy is understood to belong to Joseph and only later is it referred to Mary. The reason for this early attitude is well given by Chrysostom[4]: *διὰ σωθῆναι τὴν Παρθένον, καὶ ὑποψίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι πονηρᾶς. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γέγονε κατάδηλον, κἂν κατέλευσαν τὴν Παρθένον κακουργοῦντες τῷ λεγομένῳ, καὶ μοιχείας αὐτὴν ἔκριναν ἄν.* Chrysostom says that this idea is not from himself but from "our fathers, wonderful and distinguished men." Who these older authorities were we do not know, but so surprising a statement points to an author old enough to know that the genealogies had been in general circulation before the story of the divine birth was taught by the Church. Yet whatsoever the earlier beliefs of the church may have been, at the time of writing the Gospels belief in the virgin birth held sway. Jesus might still be, and as we have seen from the citations above, was spoken of as the son of David; but it was quite a different matter to attempt to prove that descent by tracing his genealogy through Joseph. That is an inconsistency so direct as to force us to consider the possibility of divided authorship. Yet at whatever time the genealogies came into the text of Matthew and Luke, they are presumably derived from earlier lost documents or from still older tradition. Their admittedly ancient character, however, can not be used to bolster up their claim to a place in the present Gospels, for that is a question to be settled on the basis of text criticism, and the evidence against it, though scanty, is definite and old.

For Matthew 1 1-17 we have above noted the evident attempts in the Greek MSS of the Ferrar group, Old Latin MSS, and some Syriac authorities to accommodate the genealogy to the divine birth by a change in verse 16. Furthermore, if the text of Syr S is the earlier, all Greek MSS have suffered a similar though less drastic change. By the aid of the Syriac *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* and the Palestinian Syriac the Syr S

[4] Cf. *Hom. iii. in Matt.*

text can be traced back to about 200 A. D.[5], while the regular text finds its oldest representative in Tertullian at about the same time. We can see why the contradiction between genealogy and divine birth should be smoothed over, but it is not clear why a change should be introduced merely to emphasize it. Even against Burkitt I must hold that Syr S represents an older form of the text than that found in the Greek MSS. This is tantamount to saying that the whole genealogy is from a different author than the rest of the Gospel.

This view finds further support from the omission of these verses in the Old Latin MS r_2, though it is not absolutely certain that the omission was original. Mr. Alfred de Burgh, librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, gives the following information in regard to this MS: "r_2 (Garland of Howth) is all on separate leaves, perhaps cut by the binder in 1831. It begins at Matthew 1 18 with a very large, ornamental XPI fully parallel to the ornaments at the beginnings of the other Gospels." Yet in spite of this he expresses the opinion that an earlier leaf containing verses 1-17 has been lost. His reason is doubtless a widespread characteristic of old Bible MSS of Ireland and England, noted by Wordsworth with the words, "the genealogy was treated with greater freedom than the rest of the text as being in some sense outside of the Gospel; many MSS, both British and continental, make a new departure at *Christi autem generatio sic erat* often with large and elaborate initials."[6] Wordsworth and White in the edition of the Vulgate note this characteristic in the MSS D 𝔓 L 𝔐 Q R V Y, to which we may add 𝔓 Z, dimma, mulling, harl. 1802, harl. 2797, Codex Aureus, Brit. Mus. Reg I A xviii, Paris 256, &c. Wordsworth further notes that there is an addition after verse 17 in some Old Latin and Vulgate MSS, giving the number of generations from Abraham to Jesus; also the Lindisfarne MS (Y) actually begins the Gospel with the words *Incipit Evangelii Genealogia Mathei* and inserts the true title *Incipit Evangelium secundum Mattheum* before verse 18. This change in title is now found to be supported by a later hand (9th or 10th century) of MS Z;

[5] Cf. Burkitt and Heer, *loc. cit.*

[6] Cf. *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, i. p. xxxvi.

also a similar variation is found in the Book of Deer, which has no title, but after 1 17 inserts *Finit prologus. Item incipit nunc Evangelium secundum Matheum,* while 1 18 begins the next page with fine capitals. Brit. Mus. Reg I B vii supports these, starting a new column with ornament at 1 18, before which there is a vacant space extending over half a column. MS ℔ (through the fault of the binder) begins with 1 18 and the genealogy comes two leaves later. Vulgate G, supported by Sangallensis 49, has added before 1 1 an extra genealogy from Adam to Abraham, which seems drawn from Genesis and Luke. Not only is the statement of Wordsworth about the free treatment of the genealogy well supported, but on the basis of this evidence we may class r_2 with Y, Book of Deer, and Z^2 as beginning Matthew at 1 18, and so it is quite possible that in this MS also the genealogy was originally prefixed as an introduction. It may, however, be noted that r_2 has a more extensive ornament at 1 18 than is found in the other MSS.

The genealogy in Luke was added still later, and much more decided evidence of its original omission remains. The Washington MS of the Gospels (W) of the fourth century omits it, giving Luke 3 23 in the form found in ℵ B L fam. 1 &c., but stopping with Ἰωσήφ. Verse 1 of chapter 4 follows with projecting paragraph and preceded by slight vacant space at the end of the previous line, as is usual in W before a paragraph. There is not the slightest sign that the scribe knew of any omission at this point. The genealogy was surely omitted by the parent of W, which must be dated soon after 300 A. D. W is supported in this omission by minuscule 579, a 13th century copy of a very early uncial MS, which in Mark, Luke, and John shows strong affiliation with ℵ B &c., though often having older so-called Western readings.[7] Furthermore, 579 omits all of verse 23, thus lacking the statement about the fatherhood of Joseph, which is found in W. This introduction to the genealogy varies much in the different families of MSS and may have been originally only a gloss; but whether original or a gloss, it certainly determined the place for the insertion of the whole genealogy. Because of the somewhat awkward character of

7 Cf. Schmidtke, *Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex,* Leipzig, 1903.

this introductory phrase, when separated from the rest of the genealogy, it is difficult to decide whether it was an insertion in some ancestor of W or omitted by the parent of 579; but I am inclined to think the form in 579 original, and therefore W gives a form of text corrupted by the insertion of a gloss, though we must admit that the insertion was very old, far antedating the parent of W.

The evidence for the original omission of the genealogy of Luke is probably not much strengthened by its absence in all the older lectionaries of Matthaei (47, 50, 51, 52, 53), though it is well to note that the later lectionaries have it. Matthaei thought that the omission was due to the fact that for a certain time the genealogy was not read in church; but we now see that the omission, if it be so styled, occurred as early as the third century. As the texts of the lectionaries developed to some extent independently of the regular Bible MSS, the failure in a branch of that tradition may be considered as additional evidence of early or original omission.

The evidence of the sixth century Greek-Latin MS D d is more puzzling and has been generally disregarded. Allowing for some changes in transmission the text of D d gives the genealogy of Matthew in the place of the Luke genealogy, but in inverted order to agree with the Lucan form and with the addition of the names from Adam to Abraham, which Matthew did not give. Also after ιεχονιου the two names ιωακειμ and ελιακειμ, and after οζεια the three αμασιου, ιωας and οχοζιου are inserted, and αβιουδ replaces αβια. For all these except ελιακειμ[8] there is old though scanty authority in the Matthaean tradition of the genealogy, but not in the Lucan. The explanation of this peculiar combination is not far to seek. The original D d text omitted the Lucan genealogy, as do W and 579. Neither was any Lucan genealogy known in the home of the D text at that time (early second century?). A genealogy showing affiliation to Old Latin, Old Syriac, and Ethiopic MS tradition was accordingly borrowed from Matthew. Later the text was superficially brought into accord with the then current Luke genealogy

[8] ελιακειμ occurs later in both genealogies, so it is here only a mistake due to careless correction or an intrusion from the neighboring column.

by adopting the inverted, abbreviated form and by adding the names from Adam to Abraham. Either the scribe making the change did not fully understand the difference in the names from David to Joseph; or he was trying to bring his text into seeming accord, but at the same time to retain as much as possible of his original. D, however, shows elsewhere such decided likeness to the earlier portions of the W text that I have no hesitation in claiming the original D text as another authority for the omission of the Luke genealogy. Not only does it seem necessary to date the common ancestor of W, D, and 579 early in the second century, but all the later Church fathers, from Julius Africanus and Origen on, seem to have known both genealogies. On the other hand Epiphanius has Cerinthus and Carpocrates (early second century) refer to the genealogy of Matthew alone as proof that Jesus was the son of Joseph.[9] As these men were the leaders of heresies maintaining the purely human origin of Jesus, it is not likely that they would have referred to the genealogy of Matthew specifically as the proof of their contention if other genealogies had been current.

Further evidence for the original omission of the Luke genealogy can be drawn from the forms of the names in the Sinaitic Syriac. In spite of the extremely early character of the text as a whole, there are names which show the influence of Greek mistakes, or rather of mistakes appearing in the Greek MSS ℵ and B with but little if any other support; cf. Jobel (= ℵ B)[10] against *ιωβηδ* of all other authorities; the interchange of Λ and Δ was common in Greek uncials; Sala (= ℵ* B Eth) against *σαλμων* of all others; Adam (= ℵ* Eth) against *αμιναδαβ* of all others. A careful study of all the names would exceed the limits of this paper, but the secondary character of the text is shown by Syriac mistakes as well as by Greek. This accords so ill with the rest of the text, that the genealogy seems best explained as a later insert. Somewhat doubtful also is the evidence derived from Cyril's failure to mention the genealogy in his commentary on Luke. Alone this would not be a very

[9] Cf. *Haer.* xxx. 14.

[10] D^{gr} has *ωβηλ*.

convincing proof that the genealogy did not stand in his copy of the Gospel; but added to our other old evidence of omission, it must bear the same interpretation.

I have reserved one piece of evidence, and that in my opinion by far the weightiest, because it applies equally to Matthew and Luke. Theodoret tells us that in the Diatessaron Tatian omitted the genealogies and all other passages which show that Christ was born of David by the flesh.[11] There are two MSS of the Arabic Diatessaron, of which the younger, a Vatican MS, contains the genealogies as a part of the text, but the older Borgian MS has them added as an appendix with the title "*The Book of the Generation of Jesus.*" This contradiction of authorities is a striking parallel to what seems to have been the history of the genealogy in Matthew. In the case of the Diatessaron the statement of Theodoret is sufficient to establish the true conditions. The Diatessaron originally lacked the genealogies; later someone added them as an appendix, so as to harmonize with the New Testament. The form with the genealogies inserted in the text, as found in the Vatican MS, exhibits the work of a second harmonizer. The Latin harmony of Victor of Capua (Codex Fuldensis) preserves only the arrangement of the Diatessaron; the text is that of the Vulgate and the genealogies even are contained. However, a table of contents in Vulgar Latin precedes the text, and in this there is no mention of the genealogies, so we may assume that they are a later insert here also. We must further note that the Arabic Diatessaron (4 29) has Luke 3 23a, thus agreeing exactly with W in the amount of the Luke genealogy omitted. The conclusion that we reached above, *viz.* that the insertion of the statement about the fatherhood of Joseph must have antedated the immediate parent of W, is fully confirmed. The agreement of W and the Diatessaron in retaining this sentence while omitting the genealogy, is conclusive evidence that they are reproducing an established text form.

On the other hand Theodoret seems entirely wrong in his statement that Tatian omitted all other passages which show that Christ was born of David by the flesh. Against this we

[11] Cf. *Haer. Fab.* i. 20.

can cite: Arabic Diatessaron 1 33 (= Luke 1 32) 'his father David'; 12 33 (= Matthew 9 27) 'son of David'; 35 6 (= John 7 42) 'the Messiah shall come of the offspring of David, and from Bethlehem the village of David'; 35 18 (= Matthew 22 42) 'the son of David'; 39 32 (= Matthew 21 9) 'son of David'; in fact all such passages naming or implying that Christ was the son of David appear in the MSS in the proper place. It seems clear that Theodoret was giving the reason why he thought the genealogies were omitted, and so assumed that the similar passages must have been omitted also. As he was wrong in the one case, so he probably was in the other. Tatian omitted the genealogies because they were not present in the MS or MSS of the four Gospels used by him in making the harmony. As the composition of the Diatessaron fell between 150 and 180 (probably about 175), the MS or MSS which he used, rank among the most ancient authorities for the Gospels of which we have any definite information.

This is the evidence against the genealogies so far as I have been able to gather it. There is perhaps too much of inference and too little of actual MS authority for us to consider the matter proved, but it affords a more natural explanation for the inconsistencies and omissions noted than any alternative explanation. The very early heresies noted by Eusebius as well as by Epiphanius[12] might well have caused the insertion of genealogies in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, if other books or records, then extant, contained them.

[12] Cf. *Haer.* xxx. 14.

The Latin Prologues of John

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THE Latin texts of the New Testament as recently presented in Wordsworth and White's edition of the Vulgate,[1] have four different forms of preface to the respective Gospels, the MSS. which have prologues sometimes presenting one, sometimes another, sometimes more than one, in various orders of arrangement. In the present discussion I shall limit myself to the prologues to the Fourth Gospel, and shall dismiss with the briefest possible mention those forms which have already been adequately discussed, or for other reasons throw no new light upon the problem of its authorship.

The first form of prologue appears in only two codices, those designated H and Θ by W-W. Even here it is but the former of two alternates. It is a simple excerpt from Augustine's treatise *De Consensu Evangeliorum*, i. 4. As such we may designate it the Augustinian and dismiss it; for its variants are insignificant and Augustine himself is not employing sources nor reporting tradition, but only giving his own estimate of John as compared with the Synoptic Gospels.

The form of prologue next in order of dismissal is by far the most common. It is highly interesting and important, but has already been discussed with remarkable scholarship and acumen by Corssen under the title "Monarchianische Prologe" in vol. xv. of Gebhardt and Harnack's *T. u. U.* (1896, pp. 1-138). Corssen has demonstrated that while it accompanies many forms of Jerome's translation, it is not derived from him, but is a survival of the older period. He shows that the group of four prologues of this type presuppose a different order of the

[1] Referred to hereinafter as W-W.

Gospels in the canon from Jerome's. They further exhibit a Monarchian doctrine of the person of Christ which in Jerome's time had become antiquated and heretical, and in particular the prologue to the Fourth Gospel presents material independently traceable to an older source through no less than ten authorities including Augustine. Most of these are independent, several older than Jerome; and they refer the data explicitly to an ancient *Historia ecclesiastica*, which must have had written form to account for the coincidence in language of the excerptors. According to Corssen this *Historia*, probably current in the form of a prologue or argumentum, reflected still the controversies of the close of the second century on the canonicity of John. He dates the *Historia* accordingly in its primitive form, which he reproduces from the ten excerptors, no later than the first quarter of the third century, when Roman orthodoxy was still of a decidedly Monarchian type. If I am not mistaken, evidence could be added from Epiphanius,[2] as an eleventh excerptor, connecting some of the data with Hippolytus, the defender of the Johannine writings against Caius *ca.* 207 A.D. But I will not delay longer with this form of prologue, which with Corssen we may designate the Monarchian.

The third form of prologue is found in three codices designated by W-W H, Θ,[3] and Benedictus. It might be dismissed as promptly as the first, but for its occurrence also in briefer recension in a fourth, the so-called Codex Toletanus, of which we have presently to speak more at length. Apart from this it would not detain us; for in the longer recension of H Θ Bened. this prologue is purely and simply an extract from ch. ix of Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*. Not only does it transcribe the whole chapter almost unchanged and quite without regard to the fact that the later paragraphs are inappropriate, seeing they relate to the Epistles and Revelation and the death and burial of John; it does not even omit Jerome's promise to his readers to discuss the subject of John the Elder and the two tombs at Ephesus when he shall reach in order the name of Papias. This description of course was never written for any

[2] *Haer.* li. 2 and 12.

[3] In H Θ as the alternate to the Augustinian.

other work than the *De Vir. Ill.* Indeed Cod. Θ is quite honest in its borrowing, and gives the extract the plain title Incp prēf hieronimi prb in iohn. Only this heading has had the misfortune to lose its place. It now stands over the extract from Augustine which in Θ precedes that from Jerome. Whatever, then, may be true of T's shorter recension, the longer, that of H Θ Bened., certainly rests upon Jerome. Its variations, of which only one, to be discussed hereafter, has any importance, give no indication of acquaintance with any outside source. We are therefore fully justified in designating this prologue —at least in its longer form—by the title Θ has given it: "prēf hieronimi" = Prologue of Jerome. That Jerome himself employs the *Historia Ecclesiastica* has been shown by Corssen.

The fourth and last form of prologue is given by W-W as appearing in only one codex (apart from T which must again be temporarily set aside). This MS. is the so-called Codex Reginae Suetiae, or Reginensis, a Vatican Vulgate MS. of the ninth century, catalogued as Alex. Nr. 14 and edited by Cardinal I. M. Thomasius (Opp. 1, p. 344, Romae 1747). But the limitation of W-W is due to oversight. Corssen, whom W-W do not mention, had given in the work above cited the collation of this prologue from another MS. in the Royal Public Library at Stuttgart (fol. 44). Stuttgartensis, as I shall call this MS., presents the same text as Reginensis, with three slight variations to be considered later. The form of prologue here represented we may designate the Graeco-Latin; for it gives clear evidence, at least in the first part, of translation from some Greek original. It is that which possesses for us at present the most vital interest; for while confessedly composite, corrupt and legendary, it professes to give the testimony of the *Exegeses*[4] of Papias to the publication of the Gospel by John himself "while yet in the body." Moreover Clemen's *Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums*, 1912, a work of the foremost rank, now proposes to accept the statement after due allowance for errors of translation and transcription. Clemen does not himself admit the Johannine authorship of the Gospel,

[4] The texts vary between Ἐξήγησις and Ἐξηγήσεις. As a matter of convenience only we employ the title *Exegeses*.

but he holds that Papias did; and that he so testified in his *Exegeses*. If so, we have in this single clause of a rare Latin prologue a testimony outweighing in importance all the rest of the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel put together. But it is time we returned to T and its alleged extract from Papias.

Codex T is a Spanish MS. of the tenth century of somewhat mixed descent. According to Burkitt it contains "not a few Old Latin readings." Like codd. H, Θ, and Bened. it has more than one prologue to John, placing first the common or Monarchian, under the title: Incipit Praefatio $\overline{\text{sci}}$ evangelii $\overline{\text{scum}}$ Iohannem. After this prologue follows another with the heading "Incipit Prologus Secundus," whose peculiarities we have now to consider. The first two-thirds of this second prologue of T (T 2^a) are parallel to the first part of the chapter of *De Vir. Ill.* which in H Θ Bened. constitutes the prologue of Jerome. The last third (T 2^b) is parallel to the prologue of the fourth form—that of Regin. and Stuttg. According to Burkitt this singular combination is not due to conflation. He denies that the scribe of T has merely attached the Graeco-Latin prologue after the pertinent part of the Hieronymian, and alleges as the true explanation of the phenomena that the second prologue of T represents the original source from which both Jerome and Regin. have drawn. Jerome, says Burkitt, has used its first two-thirds (= T 2^a) for what he has to say about John's relation to the Gospel; Regin. has used its last third (= T 2^b) as a separate argumentum. This view is presented by Burkitt in an Excursus entitled "The Prologue to St. John in Codex Toletanus" appended to his *Two Lectures on the Gospels*.[5] It is based on a comparison of the prologue with its two parallels, in which the differences from T (changes and additions as Burkitt considers them) are marked by italics, and omissions by ∧ ∧. His conclusion is that the second prologue of T "gives the earliest form known to us of a very remarkable theory of the origin of the Fourth Gospel". To judge of the value of this conclusion we must reproduce Burkitt's comparison, placing the texts for greater convenience in parallel columns,

[5] Macmillan, 1901, p. 90.

and adding to the text of Cod. Regin. in [] the variant readings of Cod. Stuttg. For Burkitt, in exclusive dependence on W-W, overlooks Corssen's additional MS. It should be observed that in Codex Toletanus there is no division, T 2^b being linked to T 2^a by a simple *igitur*.

Tolet.	Jerome.
Iohannes apostolus, quem Dominus Iesus amavit plurimum, novissimus omnium scripsit hoc Evangelium, postulantibus Asiae episcopis, adversus Cerinthum aliosque haereticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui asserunt stultitiae suae pravitate — sic enim Ebionitae appellantur — Christum antequam de Maria nasceretur non fuisse, nec natum ante saecula a Deo Patre. Unde etiam compulsus est divinam eius a Patre nativitatem dicere.	Iohannes apostolus quem ∧ Iesus ama*bat* plurimum, *filius Zebedei et frater Jacobi apostoli quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollaverat*, novissimus omnium scripsit ∧ Evangelium, *rogatus ab* Asiae episcopis, adversus Cerinthum aliosque haereticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui adserunt ∧ ∧ Christum ante ∧ Mari*am* ∧ non fuisse ∧ ∧. Unde etiam co*n*pulsus est *et* divinam eius ∧ nativitatem *e*dicere.
Sed et aliam causam conscripti huius Evangelii ferunt: quia, cum legisset Matthei, Marci, et Lucae de Evangelio volumina, probaverit quidem textum historiae et vera eos dixisse firmaverit, sed unius tantum anni in quo et passus est post carcerem Iohannis historiam texuisse. Praetermisso itaque anno cuius acta a tribus exposita fuerint, superioris temporis antequam Iohannes clauderetur in carcere gesta narravit, sicut manifestum esse poterit his qui quattuor Evangeliorum volumine legerint diligenter.	Sed et aliam causam *huius* scrip*turae* ferunt: quo*d*, cum legisset Matthei, Marci ∧ Lucae volumina, probaverit quidem textum historiae ∧ vera eos dixisse firmaverit, sed unius tantum anni in quo et passus est post carcerem Iohannis historiam texuisse. Praetermisso itaque anno cuius acta a tribus exposita fuer*ant*, superioris temporis antequam Iohannes clauderetur in carcer*em* gesta narravit, sicut manifestum esse poterit his qui diligenter quattuor Evangeliorum volumin*a* legerint. *Quae res et διαφωνίαν quae videtur Iohannis esse cum ceteris tollit.*

To the comparison thus instituted Burkitt adds as his only comment:—

> "I feel thoroughly convinced that St. Jerome has borrowed from the document now represented to us by the prologue in Codex Toletanus, and not *vice versa*. There are just the stylistic alterations that

a rapid and practised pen would make in borrowing a document for incorporation in a Biographical Dictionary. The awkward sentences in lines 5, 6 and 10 (here lines 3, 4, 10) of the prologue are curtailed, while fresh, though rather commonplace information is inserted in convenient places, such as the first sentence."

Against this inference of dependence by Jerome, based exclusively on the internal evidence, we must set: (1) the universal rule that where a reading occurs compounded of two factors each of which is separately attested it is the compound and not the factors which is derived, (2) the composite character of T, which as Burkitt himself declares has "not a few Old Latin readings"; (3) the analogy of the other three codices H, Θ, and Benedictus which unmistakably (and in one case avowedly) depend on Jerome.

But the real explanation of the omissions and variations of T will become apparent from a comparison of the variations of H Θ Bened. from their acknowledged source. Only one differs from the ordinary trifling transcriptional variation, and this exception occurs only in H Θ, not in Bened. Its nature is at once so amusing and so instructive on the point at issue that I must once more resort to the 'deadly parallel'.

Jerome.	Θ [H].
Iohannes apostolus quem Iesus amabat plurimum, filius Zebedei et frater Iacobi apostoli quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollaverat novissimus omnium scripsit &c.	Iohannes apostolus quem Icsus ama*vit* plurimum, filius Zebedei ∧ frater Iacobi apostoli *qui narrat Iohannem Baptistam ab Herode decollatum fuisse* [H *fuisset*] novissimum omnium scripsit &c.

The scribe of the H Θ archetype in attempting to correct what he took to be a blunder of his authority has piled up such a monument of nonsense as rarely breaks the monotony of the textual critic's road. Not recognizing Agrippa I. of Acts 12 1 under the name "Herodes," he informs us gravely that the Fourth Gospel makes Herod the murderer of the Baptist. Now it so happens that the clause of Jerome thus murdered by the overwise transcriber is the same clause which Burkitt relies on to prove that Jerome is here adding to the archetype of T, not T omitting from Jerome; for there is no other *plus* of Jerome in the portion paralleled. But suppose

the scribe of T found this text of H Θ in his copy under its proper heading, Praefatio Hieronymi Presbyteri. What would he do when he encountered this ridiculous snarl? There are only three things he could do. (1) He might attempt to improve upon it, but has wisely abstained. (2) He might simply cut it out, since the sense does not require it. (3) He might possibly refer to the original to see what it did mean; but even then he would be most likely to cut it out, for even if he was more successful than his predecessors in discovering the real sense, he could not fail to see that for his purposes it was superfluous. The real explanation then is the opposite of Burkitt's. Jerome has not added, but T has omitted. The same of course applies to all that follows "evangeliorum volumine legerint diligenter." The whole passage down to *quae res et διαφωνίαν quae videtur Johannis esse cum ceteris tollit* is simply Jerome's paraphrase of Eusebius' *H. E.* III. xxiv, 7-13, the very Greek word being borrowed. But for the purposes of a prologue to the Gospel all that related to the Epistles and Apocalypse, the two Johns in Ephesus, and all the rest included by H Θ Bened., was most unsuitable. Even a scribe, if he gave any consideration at all to space, would feel that it ought to be cut off; and in cutting it off the obvious place for amputation would be after "legerint diligenter." To include the clause about διαφωνία would be to raise more devils than one might be able to lay.

But if the *plus* of Jerome is wrongly interpreted by Burkitt, the case with the supposed "alterations" and "curtailments" is still worse. It is true that T has a *plus* of a number of explanatory words and clauses such as *Dominus* Iesus, *hoc* evangelium *stultitiae suae pravitate, sic enim Ebionitae appellantur*, and *nec natum ante saecula a Deo Patre;* but additions of this sort are precisely what we should expect in the later and derived form (*brevior lectio praeferenda*). Moreover some of these differences (e. g. ama*vit* for ama*bat*, cancellation of *et* before *divinam*, addition of *et* before *vera*) *coincide with the minute variations of* H Θ *Bened.*, a phenomenon which is proof positive of affinity between T and the codices which undeniably depend on Jerome.

Herewith then we may eliminate the third form of prologue, the Praefatio Hieronymi. The second prologue of T as a whole (T 2) is not early, but is a typical example of conflation. The factors are, for T 2^a the source represented in H Θ Bened., i. e. *De Vir. Ill.* ix, with or without recomparison of Jerome. For T 2^b it is the Prologus Graeco-Latinus of Stuttg. and Regin., to the consideration of which we now proceed.

One cannot but feel a sincere regret when so hopeful and suggestive a theory as Burkitt's of the great antiquity and value of Prologus Secundus Toletani collapses. Fortunately in this case the antiquity and value of the portion which really concerns us, viz, T 2^b, the Graeco-Latin prologue, is not affected. Burkitt attempted to prove that this was older than Jerome because of its connection with T 2^a. He seems to have overlooked the fact that Harnack had already proved it older than Philastrius, Jerome's older contemporary.[6] The following table exhibits the textual evidence for the prologue from our three authorities, the right hand column exhibiting the variations of Regin. (and in [ ] Stuttg.) from T. To it we append the passage from Philastrius cited by Harnack.

T 2^b.	Regin. [Stuttg.]
. . . . .	
Hoc igitur evangelium post apocalipsin scriptum manifestum et datum est ecclesiis in Asia a Iohanne aduc in corpore constituto sicut Papias nomine Iheropolitanus episcopus discipulus Iohannis et carus in exotericis suis id est in extremis quinque libris retulit qui hoc evangelium Iohanne subdictante conscribsit.	*Incipit argumentum secundum Iohannem* ∧ ∧ Evangelium *Iohannis* ∧ ∧ manifes*tatum* et datum [Stuttg. om. et datum] est ecclesiis ∧ a*b* Iohanne aduc in corpore constituto sicut Papias nomine Hieropolitanus ∧ discipulus Iohannis ∧ carus in exotericis ∧ id est in extremis quinque libris retulit ∧ *de*scri*p*sit *vero* ∧ evangelium ∧ dictante Iohanne *recte.*
Verum Archinon hereticus quum ab eo fuisset reprobatus eo quod contraria sentiset prelectus est a Iohanne. hic vero scriptum vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus missus qui in Ponto erant fideles in domino nostro. amen.	Verum [Stuttg. recte verum Marcion] *Martion* h*a*ereticus *c*um ab eo fuisset [Stuttg. esset] *im*probatus eo quod contraria senti*ebat, abi*ectus est a Iohanne. *is* vero script*a* vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus ∧ qui in Ponto *fueru*nt ∧ ∧ ∧. *Explicit Argumentum.*

[6] 383-384 A. D. is the approximate date of Philastrius' compend of heresies. The *De Vir. Ill.* appeared about ten years later.

Philastrius.

(Marcion) devictus et fugatus a beato Iohanne evangelista et a presbyteris de civitate Ephesi Romae hanc haeresim seminabat.[7]

Philastrius himself had previously said: "Marcion de civitate Sinope urbem Romam devenit." Harnack draws the logical inference that the archetype of our prologue is older.

This conclusion of Harnack probably represents about the limit of our attainment along the line of textual transmission. The prologue of Regin., closely paralleled by Stuttg. and more remotely by T 2[b], is probably derived from some copy of the Old Latin of 250—350 A. D. It represents an alternate to the Monarchian traced by Corssen to an at least equally remote age, but rests (in its first paragraph) upon Greek sources, and (in its second) is anti-Marcionite and not Monarchian.

Comparison of the three texts indicates that the scribe of T has used considerable freedom, especially in the way of addition, as we found to be the case in T 2[a]. At the beginning he has linked on to T 2[a] with a *hoc igitur* and added (probably from the Monarchian prologue which he had just copied as his Praefatio prima) *post apocalipsin scriptum.* Manifestum for manifest*a*tum is probably a mere slip of the pen[8], but Stuttg. in omitting here *et datum* betrays a consciousness of tautology, of which we must speak later. The next *plus* of T need not be an addition. *In Asia* is quite as likely to have been omitted by the archetype of Regin. and Stuttg. because it too narrowly limited the destination of the Gospel, as added by T. We must leave the question open. *Episcopus et* [carus discipulus] is probably T's addition, and *qui hoc . . . . . subdictante conscribsit* is a manifest attempt to improve upon the awkward style of the parallel, while doing justice to its incomprehensible *recte*, which Stuttg. tries to connect with *verum.*

In the second paragraph *re*probatus and *pre*lectus (!) may be due to mere accident, like the corruption of the proper name

[7] The text and references are taken from Harnack, *Chron.* p. 308f. Corssen (*T. u. U.* xv., [1896] p. 115) gives the variants of the Stuttgart MS. (in the Royal Public Library, Stuttgart, fol. 44).

[8] Manifestum occurs just above, l. 27.

(Archinon from Marcion, which has lost its initial M to the verum preceding). Burkitt surrenders the problem. Praelectio (*Vorlesung*) seems to him a 'cruel and unusual form of punishment', even for heretics. It may be, however, that T understands "Archinon" to have been first reproved (*re*probatus) for his errors (eo quod contraria sentiset), and afterward "raised to special favor" (praelectus) by John. Philastrius is certainly nearer the original in rendering: devictus (ἐληλεγμένος) et fugatus. In this sentence accordingly Regin. has the most authentic form. Stuttg. attempts a slight grammatical improvement (*esset*), and T runs wild. In the next sentence *missus* is doubtless T's harmless addition, *erant* his grammatical improvement; while the appended phrase *fideles in Domino nostro* betrays its alien origin by its lack of agreement in case (fratribus . . . . . fideles); or else, if fideles (lis) be taken as a masc. sing., belongs to T's false conception of "Archinon." T 2^b would seem thus to have the later, more arbitrary, form of the text, as well as the more transcriptionally corrupt. The Spanish scribe was at least as far as Candace's eunuch from understanding what he was reading.

Having thus established, so far as the data permit, the primitive text of this prologue, and having determined its date as not later than 383 A. D., we may give our attention with greater confidence to the questions now again brought before us by Clemen's proposal to regard its citation from Papias as authentic. This involves a review of the internal evidence, to which many critics have already given careful attention, and first of all of the judgement of Lightfoot, which Clemen takes as the basis of his own. It appears in Lightfoot's well known defense of the Fourth Gospel against the author of *Supernatural Religion.* After citing the prologue of Regin. in the form above given from the text of Card. Thomasius,[9] Lightfoot guards himself against seeming to rest weight upon "a passage which contains such obvious anachronisms and other inaccuracies," yet thinks the mention of Papias worthy of attention, and endeavors to account for it. In this he adopts in the main the conclusions

[9] Opp. I. p. 344, Romae 1747. Cf. Zahn's exacter transcription in *K. G.*, I., p. 898.

previously given by Westcott in his *History of the Canon* as follows:—[10]

> "The text of the fragment is evidently corrupt, and it seems to have been made up of fragments imperfectly put together. But the main fact seems certainly to be based on direct [?] knowledge of Papias' book, which is rightly described (in . . . . . quinque libris). The general tenor of the account is like that given in the Muratorian Canon."

The clumsy attachment of supplementary data by three successive *vero's* (verum) is doubtless the ground of Westcott's characterization of the prologue as composite. Lightfoot also remarks that it "seems to be made up of notices gathered from different sources." Lightfoot believes, however, that the reference to Papias can be better explained as an authentic extract, perverted "by clerical errors and mistranslations," than as mere legend growing out of "historical confusion." He even thinks the clause "descripsit vero evangelium" might also have an authentic basis. Papias might have written ἀπέγραφον ("they wrote down") and this have been read as first person sing., "I wrote down." He would account for the silence of Eusebius by supposing:—

> "that Papias, having reported some saying of St. John on the authority of the elders, went on somewhat as follows: 'And this accords with what we find in his own Gospel, which he gave to the churches when he was still in the body' (ἔτι ἐν τῷ σώματι καθεστῶτος)."

A mere obiter dictum of this kind in Papias Lightfoot thinks might have escaped the notice of Eusebius. The silence of Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and the other defenders of the apostolicity of the Gospel against Gaius and the Alogi he does not consider.

Zahn agrees with Westcott and Lightfoot in making the distinction between possibly authentic and plainly legendary material after the reference to the five books of Papias, dismissing politely but briefly Lightfoot's rather fanciful explanation of the statement that Papias was the amanuensis of the Gospel. In his *Forschungen*, vi. p. 127, n. 1 he characterizes this as "pure fable", pointing out that it does not even claim to be derived from Papias. It *is* drawn, however, from Greek sources; for it appears independently in a Greek prologue cited

[10] Ed. 6 (1889), p. 77, note 1.

by Corderius.[11] Lightfoot's inference of a Greek original from adhuc in corpore constituto (= ἔτι ἐν τῷ σώματι καθεστῶτος) is thus confirmed as regards the portion relating to Papias. Zahn would extend the proof to that relating to Marcion, regarding scripta vel epistolas as a double rendering of γράμματα, and a fratribus qui in Ponto *fuerunt* as an awkward rendering of παρὰ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ ἀδελφῶν. He leaves undecided the possibility suggested by Corssen of a derivation from Prochorus of the statement concerning the dictation of the Gospel to Papias. Prochorus' Acts of John twice aver (Zahn: *Acta Joannis* 155. 9 and 16) that John dictated the Gospel while standing (καὶ κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν λοιπὸν ἔλεγεν πάντα οὕτως ἑστώς). *Recte*, then, at which T and Stuttg. seem not unnaturally to have stumbled, would be a rendering of ἑστώς.

Harnack[12] agrees with Zahn that the prologue "is certainly translated from the Greek", and in rejecting as not even claiming authority the clause *descripsit vero* &c. He also agrees with his predecessors Lightfoot and Zahn, that the clause *id est in extremis* is a mere explanatory addition of the Latin translator attached to the corruption *exotericis* for *exegeticis*. But Harnack cannot admit the authenticity of the fragment in its present form, because to say that John's Gospel was "published and given out to the churches by John (ab Iohanne) while still in the body" would be nonsense; no one maintaining that it was done "by John" after his death, but only (as might seem to be implied in Jn. 21 24) that it had been done (by others) after his death. This would require Iohanne .... constituto, not *ab* Iohanne .... constituto. Harnack is therefore prepared to admit the possible authenticity of the utterance, on condition that the preposition *ab* be omitted. Even so, however, he would consider the silence of Eusebius to be "suspicious," Lightfoot to the contrary notwithstanding. For Eusebius, who reported what he found in Papias regarding Matthew and Mark, could hardly have passed it over.

Harnack's distinction is grammatically correct, but his in-

[11] *Catena in S. Joann.*: Antwerp. 1630. Cf. Harmer-Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 524.

[12] *Chron.* p. 664 f.

ferences are unwarranted. We have no right to assume that the testimony had reference only to the date and not to the agency of the transaction. As Zahn points out, referring to Mt. 27 63 as a parallel, the use of the preposition does imply, by its assertion of John's personal agency, the disposition in some quarter to regard John's relation to the publication as indirect, or at least the possibility of so regarding it. Here, and here alone, is there ground for Westcott's remark (quite too sweeping in its form): "The general tenor of the account is like that given in the Muratorian Canon." Harnack's proposal to emend, accordingly, has value only as calling attention to the distinctive feature of the extract, if such it be.

In view of Lightfoot's wariness of attributing to Papias an utterance which could not fail to catch the eye of Eusebius, and the wariness of his successors, including even "defenders" such as Badham and Zahn, to adopt Lightfoot's conjecture in aid of the clause: descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte, it is somewhat unexpected to find Clemen in 1912 adopting not only Lightfoot's explanation of how the clause really attributed to Papias might have been contained in the *Exegeses*, but even that of the "pure fable", as Zahn calls it, which follows. In Clemen's judgment "Papias might very well make a statement of this kind about the Gospel, without either Irenaeus or Eusebius having occasion to repeat it".[13]

In first mentioning Clemen's verdict we characterized the testimony he finds in our prologue as "outweighing in importance all the rest of the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel put together." This may seem at first sight an extravagant estimate. But consider what is alleged. Not mere *employment*, such as Eusebius credibly attributes to Papias in the case of the First Epistle, and such as the present writer concurs with many other critics in attributing to Papias with

[13] Diese Erklärung (Lightfoot's) ist wahrscheinlicher, als die von Corssen und Badham, die meinen, Papias sei durch eine Verwechselung mit Prochorus, dem die Abfassung eines Lebens des Johannes zugeschrieben wird, hier hereingekommen. Eine solche Angabe über das Evangelium konnte Papias auch sehr wohl machen, ohne daß Irenaeus und Eusebius Veranlassung hatten, sie zu wiederholen. *Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums*, Halle, 1912, p. 375.

respect to *some form of* the Gospel also. We are dealing here with direct, downright assertion. Papias will have made explicit affirmation on the supreme point at issue in all the long controversy over the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel which raged at Rome between 175 and 225 A. D. And however slight the value the modern critic may attribute to Papias' testimony, advocates such as Proclus, the *Muratorianum*, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus were very far from despising it. Can all these have overlooked the statement? The argument from the silence of Eusebius, bound by his promise to relate all that he found in the earliest writers concerning the origin of the Gospels, and more than willing to relate anything confirmatory of the Johannine authorship, is so strong as to make Harnack reject the statement *in toto* and even Lightfoot and Zahn hesitate to appeal to it, even after conjectural emendation. And wholly independent of Eusebius' silence is the silence of all the participants in the Alogistic controversy, not one of whom on either side betrays the consciousness that a close disciple of John (as Irenaeus esteems him) had put the whole question out of court by his explicit and authoritative statement.

If, then, our prologue really contains an authentic testimony of Papias to the Fourth Gospel its importance even for our own time cannot be minimized. It will imply the currency in Asia early in the second century of this Gospel, *including the appendix* with its covert suggestion of Johannine authorship (21 19-24). And this suggestion, however non-committal, has always proved plain *enough* for the purpose in view. *If* this is Papias' testimony regarding the Fourth Gospel the *ab* Iohanne will have to be understood with reference to Jn. 21 24, as Zahn says. Clemen will find few converts even among moderns to his idea that Papias' testimony is a *quantité négligeable*. But it is not on this ground that we deny the possibility of such a statement having stood in the *Exegeses*. The difficulty is first and foremost (1) that neither Papias nor any of his contemporaries, down to and inclusive of Justin Martyr, treat the Fourth Gospel with anything approaching the respect they pay to Gospels esteemed apostolic, or betray

in any manner the idea of its authorship which forms the culminating statement of the appendix. But over and above this is (2) the importance which testimony such as this from Papias would have had to defenders such as Irenaeus, Proclus, Hippolytus, and the author of the *Muratorianum*. That importance is so great that we cannot agree with Clemen that neither these nor Eusebius "would have occasion to repeat it."

We have, then, a dead-lock between those who think it possible that the statement reported by our prologue or something like it could have stood in the *Exegeses*, and those who think it impossible. A new way must be struck out. But first of all let us define such reasonable concession as may properly be expected from each side. On the one side *something* of this nature must have stood in Papias. At least the clause which actually purports to quote his *Exegeses* cannot be a pure figment of the imagination. Back of the Latin transcribers, whose mutilation of the title of Papias' book proves their ignorance of it, is some Greek prologue or subscription so early as to be well within the period when the battle over the authorship of the writings attributed to John (a controversy carried on in Greek) was still a recent thing, and Papias was far from unknown. It must have contained a statement of his capable of transformation into that of our Prologue.

Reciprocally the difficulty must also be admitted—to a certain extent it *is* admitted—of accounting for the silence of all the early defenders of the Gospel, if Papias' testimony had anything like the form proposed by modern defenders. Is it possible to find an explanation which solves both difficulties together? Closer scrutiny of the text is our only resource.

The *composite* character of our prologue is the characteristic most universally insisted upon by all who attach any value to it whatever. Lightfoot and Clemen are alone in the attempt to trace the clause "descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte" to anything in Papias; and even they regard it as only a mistaken inference. It was probably part of the Greek argumentum, but whether an element of its original form, or a later attachment would be hard to say. The looseness of

the connection (vero) favors the latter. But did the Greek argumentum include the second, anti-Marcionite paragraph?

This paragraph with its "anachronisms and other inaccuracies" about Marcion and John is naturally rejected by all critics as worthless. Still we may reasonably be asked for some possible explanation of its origin before we reject it. As affording such a possibility I have two parallels to submit, the first of which relates to the *scriptum vel epistolas*:—

Regin.	Tert. *Adv. Marcion* iv, 3. 4.
Verum Martion haereticus .... abiectus est a Iohanne. Is vero scripta vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus qui in Ponto fuerunt.	Sed enim Marcion *nactus epistulam* .... connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine (*i. e.* John and Matthew) eduntur ... et pecuniam in primo calore fidei catholicae ecclesiae contulit, *proiectam mox cum ipso*, postquam in haeresim .... descivit. Quid nunc si negaverint Marcionitae primam apud nos fidem eius *adversus epistulam quoque ipsius?* Quid si nec *epistulam* agnoverint?

The passage from Tertullian with its perplexing reference to "letters" which Marcion had brought with him from Pontus, when he fell into heresy and was "cast out" from the church together with his money, seems to me a *possible* source for the reference of our prologue. It is true that Tertullian is referring to two different letters, one our own Galatians (in Marcion's recension), the other apparently a composition of Marcion's own, and that he clearly describes the former (in words above indicated by ...) as "epistulam Pauli ad Galatas etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantis". But a medieval scribe may be forgiven for not recognizing our canonical Epistle when described as one which Marcion had "happened upon", and one wherein Paul "reviled (literally 'smote in the eye') the very apostles themselves". That he should be at a loss regarding a document described in such extraordinary terms and finding, immediately after, Tertullian proceeding to speak of a letter of Marcion's own, not otherwise known, should exhibit his perplexity in the dubious phrase *scriptum* (*scripta*) vel epistolas, seems a possible explanation of the curious final clause of our prologue. Zahn's proposal to regard scripta vel epistolas as a double rendering of the very common term γράμματα will then be superfluous.

Greater uncertainty attends the clause preceding. Here two questions arise: (1) How comes the discomfiture of Marcion to be attributed to *John*? (2) Why is his heresy referred to in such curiously mild terms as "eo quod contraria sentiebat" (var. l. sentiset)? Such mildness almost excuses T's false notion of a conversion of the heretic from his errors.

A further parallel from the same context of Tertullian may afford some light. As regards (1) we observe that in the context of the passage just cited it is primarily the Gospel of John which Tertullian is defending against Marcion. Luke, he maintains, must be dependent on "John and Matthew, who first instil faith, whilst Luke and Mark renew it afterward". Paul, Luke's master, says Tertullian, sought correction of *his* gospel from the 'Pillars'; but Marcion rejects these primary, apostolic sources, and censured even the apostles themselves, in favor of a secondary non-apostolic Gospel, which he alters to suit his own ideas. Tertullian had just before (III, 8) appealed to II Jn. 7 as proof that (prophetically) the Apostle John had on the contrary censured Marcion as an 'Anti-Christ'.

As regards question (2) the phrase improbare (or, reprobare) quia contraria sentiebat is quite Tertullianesque, and is repeatedly applied (in substance) to Marcion's arbitrary rejection of the elements of the catholic canon.[14] We encounter it in the very next paragraph but one of the *Adv. Marcion.* (iv. 6). Only, here the sense is the opposite. *Marcion's* rejections were of "everything that was contrary to his own opinion." I cannot resist the impression that so arbitrary a reason for radical action must originally have been attributed to the heretic rather than to the Apostle. I therefore suggest with all due reserve that the original participle may have been active and not passive, repro*bans* (var. *im*probans), not repro*batus*. Motives similar to those acknowledged in the *Tikkunê Sopherim*, would easily account for the change. If scribes could alter Gen. 18 22 from "The Lord yet stood before Abraham" to "Abraham yet stood before the Lord," because it was more respectful, an original reprobans in the clause Verum Marcion haereticus

[14] E. g. *De Carn.* 2; *Praescr.* 30.

reprobans (sc. evang. Ioannis) eo quod contraria sentiebat, abjectus est a Iohanne, might be changed to reprobatus. *Un*changed the clause would express Tertullian's essential meaning very tersely and epigrammatically: Marcion the heretic, who rejects John's Gospel merely because it does not agree with his own opinion, has himself been rejected by John (*i. e.* in his Epistle).

Tertullian's mention of Marcion's "letters" and declaration that the presumption of the heretic in rejecting John is more than offset by John's (prophetic) rejection of *him*, are adduced as *possibly* accounting for the "fabulous" and "anachronistic" second paragraph of the prologue. The coincidences may be illusive. If so, we can only follow our predecessors in dropping the whole paragraph into the general limbo of medieval fable. I must leave also to better linguists than myself the question whether this paragraph affords any real evidence of translation from the Greek. In any event the separation of it from the statements relating to Papias, insisted on by all who maintain the value of these, is amply justified.

We come thus at last to the real point of burning interest, the question what authority—if any—lies back of the statement that Papias declared the Fourth Gospel to have been given out "by John during his life-time."

Our first question is of necessity as to the meaning. Does manifestatum (var. manifestum) mean "published"? Lightfoot so renders it, and it seems to be taken in this sense by Stuttg., which thereupon cancels *et datum*; for the two additional words will then be superfluous. But so far as I am able to learn there is no other example known where manifestare takes the place of edere. It is the proper synonym of 'revelare' (ἀποκαλύπτειν), and applies to things hidden and 'brought to light'. As applied to a canonical book the natural sense would be "revealed by God", and it is possible that the scribes of Regin. and T so understood it. But could Papias so write? Few, I think, will regard it as probable that he spoke of John's Gospel as "revealed," while employing ordinary terms (συνέγραψε, ἔγραψε) for Matthew and Mark. But since it is universally recognized that this part of the prologue at least has

been translated from the Greek, let us retranslate. Retranslation makes it doubly difficult to take the sense "was published"; for it will anticipate the succeeding words: et datum est ecclesiis (T: + Asiae). So far as I can see the translation must run: ἐξεδόθη καὶ ἐδόθη, the very tautology in aggravated form which Stuttg. seeks to avoid by dropping *et datum*. No alternative, then, remains but to take the ordinary, natural sense of manifestare = revelare, the common equivalent of ἀποκαλύπτειν in ecclesiastical Latin. We shall then render: ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἐξεδόθη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (ταῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ). Is not the single solution of our two-fold difficulty already apparent? This statement cannot refer to the Gospel. It can only refer to the *Revelation* of John. If attached as a note in any MS. it must have stood between the two, and while intended as an epilogue to Revelation, was transcribed as a prologue to the Gospel.[15]

The superscription of Revelation has become part of our text. It runs: "The Revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him to show unto his servants, and he sent it by his angel unto his servant John." The text proper proceeds: "John to the seven churches which are in Asia." The corresponding statement suitable for an epilogue would be precisely in the form of our prologue. Now as the Monarchian prologues and T inform us, Revelation was understood to have been written first, and in the 'Instrumentum Iohanneum' it may have often stood before the Gospel. Even if always in the other order, the two writings were certainly in some texts adjacent, so that a note intended as a suffix to the one might easily be mistaken for a prefix to the other, or conversely.

Is there then any intrinsic improbability that Papias should have testified that the Apocalypse was "revealed" to John and given out by him to the churches (of Asia)? Quite the contrary. Difficult or impossible as such a supposition would be regarding the *Gospel*, regarding *Revelation* it not only corre-

[15] A similar supposition has been made to account for the curious title πρὸς πάρθους attached in some MSS. to the Epistles of John. It has been understood as a corruption of πρὸς παρθένους, and the latter accounted for as the superscription of Second Jn. (II Jn. 1) taken by mistake as a subscript to First John.

sponds to the statements of Justin and Irenaeus, both of whom used Papias, but is (in substance) explicitly attested by Andreas of Caesarea, who states in so many words that Papias testified to the ἀξιόπιστον of Revelation. Moreover this testimony of Papias is most likely to have stood in the latter part of his *Exegeses*, where the writer especially dealt with eschatology, if we may judge from the extracts in Irenaeus. Our prologue, it is true, speaks only of the "five" books of Papias, but in a reference the numeral ϵ΄ is more likely to have been originally intended as ordinal than cardinal.

But the "distinctive feature" of the statement is that John's action was "while yet in the body" (ἔτι ἐν σώματι καθεστῶτος). Why add this? Is not Zahn justified in saying that this can only be a denial of such posthumous editing as seems to be suggested by Jn. 21 24? Does it not recall the Muratorian Canon? We will admit that it does. We will further grant to Zahn against Harnack that the clause is by no means otiose, but contains the very kernel of the contention. Still it may apply quite as well to Revelation as to the Gospel. Dispute about the boldly asserted authorship of Revelation antedates dispute about the cautiously suggested claims of the Gospel. Its defenders were Papias, Justin, and Melito, the latest writing about 168 A. D. And in both cases the obstacle was the same. In order to maintain the authenticity of either book some account would have to be taken of the primitive tradition, corroborated by Mk. 10 35-40, and by early calendars of martyrdoms, that "John the son of Zebedee was killed by the Jews"; for the evidence is now too strong to be resisted that Papias himself reported this tradition. The form of statement, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, probably implied *originally* (i. e. in the mouth of Papias' informants, Palestinian "elders", as I take it, among whom both the Apostle and his namesake the Elder John had lived) a martyrdom while "the Jews" were still a political body. At all events some of the early defenders of Revelation might naturally be expected to adopt this early date for John's martyrdom—in point of fact we know that some did. The authenticity (ἀξιόπιστον) of the book would then require either (1) a very early date, or else (2) some theory

of posthumous publication. The former course (1) is actually taken by the *Muratorianum*, which makes the seven letters of John to the churches of Asia *precede* the letters of Paul.[16] This is in line with the multitude of later authorities beginning with Tertullian, who date the imprisonment and release of John under Claudius and Nero (!) though whether through pure blunder, or in part because of traditions of John's early martyrdom, we cannot say. The latter course (2) would be naturally suggested by the very nature and structure of the book, which every Greek reader would inevitably recognize as a translation in at least its central portion, even if he did not recognize that this central mass is utterly unrelated to the introductory letters to the churches of Asia, cc. 1-3, and the epilogue 22 8-21. Nevertheless evidence of actual recourse to such a theory of posthumous authorship, patent as it is in Jn. 21 19-24 with respect to the Gospel, is lacking in respect to Revelation.

Fortunately it is not needed. What is required to account for the assertion that John saw the vision and gave it out to the churches to which it was addressed "while yet in the body" is not the actuality but only the *potentiality* of the converse proposition. And this, as we have seen, is present in the very form and phraseology of the book which fairly invites the supposition that its vaguely defined sojourn of John in Patmos was not in the body but only "in the Spirit" (1 10).

Papias, however, while accepting the martyrdom, and yet certainly a defender of Revelation, can have followed neither of the two harmonistic expedients thus far suggested. He cannot have dated Revelation early; for we have the definite statement in Irenaeus that "the vision was seen almost in our own time, in the end of the reign of Domitian,"[17] a statement quite generally (and very reasonably) regarded as derived from Papias himself; for it not only occurs in the midst of the "traditions of the elders" usually admitted to be drawn from Papias, but is given as from "the men who saw John face to

[16] Paulus, sequens praedecessoris sui Iohannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat.

[17] *Haer.* V. xxx, 3.

face." Moreover it would be far more natural for Papias than for Irenaeus to use the phrase "almost in our own time" of a date *ca.* 93-96 A. D. But even were direct dependence here not admitted, Irenaeus cannot have been on this point at odds with his own chief authority. For not only does this date (93-95 A. D.) coincide with the best results of modern criticism,[18] it coincides also with that given by Epiphanius, where (in dependence on Hippolytus) he declares that the time of writing was "ninety-three years after the Lord's conception".[19] Obviously the book was (rightly) believed in the circles dependent on Papias to have come into circulation at Ephesus about 93-96 A. D.[20] If, on the other hand, Papias had in any way advocated an indirect relation of Revelation to the Apostle, Dionysius and Eusebius would surely have seized upon it. We can only accept at its full value the testimony of Andreas that Papias vouched for its ἀξιώπιστον; and if so the only possible reconciliation with his tradition that "John was killed by the Jews" was to hold that the Apostle's fate overtook him *after his return* from Patmos (to Palestine). In other words Papias cannot have allowed that the residence of John in Patmos was any such vague and shadowy one as was suggested by the apocalyptic phraseology and the prevailing ignorance regarding it; neither could he regard John's letters to the seven churches as preceding Paul's. He held (in language very familiar to our ears) that John had "survived until the times of Trajan," thus making room for the authenticity of Revelation. Such a conviction regarding the origin of this much-disputed but to Papias most congenial book, and based upon it, would be most naturally expressed by a declaration that it had been "revealed and given out to the churches (of Asia) by John himself, while yet in the body." An utterance of this kind regarding *Revelation* we have every reason for crediting to Papias, in spite of the silence of opponents of the book such as Eusebius.

[18] *E. g.* Harnack, *Chron.* gives 93-96 A. D.

[19] *Haer.* li. 33 For ἀνάληψιν read σύλληψιν. Cf. Chapman, *J. T. S.* July 1907, p. 603, and *John the Presbyter*, 1911, p. 57, note.

[20] References like Rev. 2 13 might furnish easy clews.

On the other hand to make Papias a participant in the controversies which arose as to the authorship of the *Gospel* is an anachronism. His postdating of the martyrdom and endorsement of the stay in Patmos until the time of Trajan undoubtedly paved the way for later defenders. But the bringing of John from Patmos to *Ephesus* is a later development insupposable in Papias. The first trace of it is in the Leucian *Acts of John* (*ca.* 175). The further prolongation of the Apostle's residence there to admit the writing of the Gospel (post Apocalipsim scriptum), with the necessary rationalizing away of the martyrdom into mere suffering (exile, bath of oil, poison cup, &c.) belong to the still later period of controversy inaugurated (it would seem) by the appendix.

But I have gone too far and too fast. Mere conjecture, I may well be reminded, is a drug in the market. And what I have offered thus far is only conjecture. Let me return to the prologue, which we felt obliged to render: *ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἐξεδόθη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις* (*τῆς* Ἀσίας) *ὑπὸ* Ἰωάννου *ἔτι ἐν σώματι καθεστῶτος*. We declared that if from Papias, this statement could only apply to Revelation and not to the Gospel. The assertion will certainly be challenged. We shall be asked whether any textual evidence exists to support it. Textual evidence for Revelation, I need not say, is scanty, but I will acknowledge that if MSS. once circulated having a subscription such as I have supposed to be the real source of our prologue, some trace of the note might be expected to survive in some quarter; and it is here that I must invoke the aid of critics having wider access than I to the textual sources.

Until the appearance of the long deferred volume of W-W containing the Latin text of Revelation with its various prologues and subscriptions, I fear I have very little to present. Yet that little contains at all events the distinctive feature, the curious declaration, explicable only from the conflict of the traditions of John's authorship with the preëxisting traditions of his death, that the work belonged to "his life-time." On the last page of Tischendorf's Editio Major, among the subscriptions to *Revelation*, will be found the following, taken, it appears, from the London polyglot:

"*Aeth.* Hic finita est visio Iohannis Abucalamsis. Amen. Quod est dictum: *quam vidit in vita sua*, visio: et scripta fuit a beato Iohanne evangelista dei eius."

I am indebted to my colleague Professor C. C. Torrey for a more accurate rendering of the Ethiopic, which, as the monstrosity Abucalamsis (i. e. Apocalypsis) shows, is based upon the Arabic. Professor Torrey renders as follows: "Here is ended the vision of John, the Apocalypse, Amen. That is to say, that vision *which he saw in his life-time.* And it was written by the blessed John the evangelist of God" (i. e. θεολόγος). —Did it occur to some one independently to say of this book as well as of the Gospel that it was the product of John's life-time and not a posthumous work? Or are we really face to face again with the old dictum of Papias, this time applied as he meant it—to Revelation?

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The Stems **dûm** and **damám** in Hebrew

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1.—A comparison of the translations which the leading Hebrew dictionaries give for the stem דמם shows that they unanimously assign to it the meaning *to be silent.* Thus Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (1835-53) offers for דמם:—(1) *to be silent;*—(2) *to be stupefied;*—(3) *to be still, cease;*—(4) *to be silenced,* i. e. through destruction and death. Fürst-Ryssel, *Heb. u. chald. Wörterb. über d. A. T.*[3] (1876), gives:—(1) *to be silent, trust quietly, be resigned, stand still;*—(2) *to stop, be separated, be lonely.* Siegfried-Stade, *Hebr. Wörterb. z. A. T.* (1893), has:—(1) *to become silent, perish;*—(2) *to keep quiet*;—(3) *to stand still.* Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebr. and Engl. Lex. of the O. T.* (1906), assumes two stems דמם : דמם I:—*to be* or *grow dumb, silent, still;* to דמם II the meaning *to wail* is tentatively assigned as suggested by Fried. Delitzsch in Baer's *Ezechiel* (1884), p. XI, and in *Prolegomena* (1886), p. 64; cf. also Zimmern, *Busspsalmen,* p. 30. Gesenius' *Handwb.* (1910) again mentions but one stem דמם:—(1) *to become rigid from terror, become silent, be silent;*—(2) *to keep still, be inactive, give up all activity;*—(3) *to be destroyed.* König, *Hebr. u. Aram. Wörterb. z. A. T.* (1910) develops the meaning of דמם:—(1) *to become silent,* sometimes meant hyperbolically: *to be less loud in one's utterances;*—(2) by metonymy: (a) *to become rigid* (from terror); (b) *to be destroyed*;—(3) by synecdoche: *to be inactive* in general,

to cease. As a byform of דמם, *to be silent*, all these dictionaries quote the stem דום.

2.—In a number of passages the assumed original meaning of דמם with its various developments seems to suit the context well enough. In others this does not at all appear to be the case, and the ancient translators of the O. T., with the single exception of the extremely literal Aquila, modified their translations of דמם as the general sense of the passage in which it occurred seemed to require, and in some instances they clearly ventured a guess as to the meaning of this verb. Modern scholars have felt the difficulty no less, and therefore they have suggested roots and meanings for forms usually assigned to דמם which differed from the traditional view. Thus Prof. Paul Haupt, in a paper entitled *Some Assyrian Etymologies*, AJSL **26**, 4 ff.[1], advances the theory that there is no stem דמם in Hebrew which denotes *to be silent*. He insists that the majority of passages in which this verb is supposed to occur are mistranslated. The forms thus far derived from דמם, *to be silent*, must rather be assigned (1) to דום, *to abide, wait;* and (2) to דמם, *to mutter*. This same theory was briefly stated in the closing paragraph of his article *Die Posaunen von Jericho*, WZKM **23**, 355 ff. Instances where forms of stems ל״ע have been confused with forms of stems ע״ע are by no means unheard of. Thus Haupt, *Nahum*, p. 44, says, *All the forms of the alleged stem* המה *are forms of* הום; cf. Haupt, *Micah*, p. 10 (AJSL **26**, 237), and AJSL **24**, 170.

3.—Haupt, however, was partly anticipated by J. D. Michaelis who believed in the existence of a stem דום, *stare, persistere*, in Hebrew as early as 1792, cf. his *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, p. 417. He compares it with Arab. يدوم, دام, and seems to consider it a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, occurring Jos. 10 12 13, where all the Ancient Versions, Aquila alone excepted, translate דם and ידם by *to stand still* or *halt*. Haupt believes that דום occurs much more frequently, and in a private communication to the editor of Gesenius' *Handwb.*[15], published in this work s. v. דמם, enumerates ten passages in which דמם, *to speak*

[1] For abbreviations see this JOURNAL vol. 29 112, and the references quoted there.

softly or *to lament*, is found, and adds that all the other passages usually quoted under דמם contain forms of דום (= دام, *to last, abide, wait, become rigid*). Haupt thus differs with other Hebrew scholars inasmuch as he entirely eliminates a stem דמם, *to be silent.*

4.—דום is a poetic synonym of the more prosaic עמד, compare Jos. 10 12 13[a] with 10 13[b]; cf. § 13. דום is, of course, akin to Arab. دام, يدوم or يدام, as already stated by J. D. Michaelis. In Ethiopic ደመመ, ተደመ, and ተደመመ mean *to be stupefied, astonished;* but the original meaning is *to be made stationary, motionless, rigid = to be petrified* (cf. ידמו כאבן, Ex. 15 16, § 28) by astonishment (አደመመ, *to stupefy*, originally *to cause to be rigid*), so that ደመመ is not identical with Heb. דמם, but must rather be compared with דום, *to stay.* For stems ע״ע in Ethiopic which appear as ע״ו-stems in the other Semitic tongues cf. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Gram.*, § 67[b]. In the same way דמם in post-Bibl. Heb. is equivalent to Bibl. דום. Cf. Ex. R. s. 29, end, הדמים כל העולם, *He made the whole world stand still;* Gen. R. s. 97, שהוא מדמים וכ׳, *who will bring to a standstill;* and the noun דִּמְדּוּם, *standstill*, Sabb. 118[b]; Ber. 29[b]; and often. דַּמְדֵּם denotes *to be stupefied;* cf. Talm. Y., Terumoth, I, 40[d], מְדוּמְדָּם, *one who is overcome by wine*; and Cant. R. to III, 4, הוא מְדַמְדֵּם כל ההוא לילה, *he lay in a stupor the whole night.* In Targ. Y. II, Ex. 15 16 אִידַּמְדֵּם (read יִד׳) = Heb. ידמו.

5.—With partial assimilation of the ם to the preceding ד the stem דום appears as דון (cf. דשן = Arab. دسم); see ZDMG **63**, 515 and GB 15 s. v. דון. It occurs but once, in the form יָדוֹן (= *i̯adân*, *i̯adâm*, Arab. يدام) in the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men, preceding the account of the deluge, Gen 6 3. ידון is an intransitive impf. like יָבוֹא (GK, § 72, h). AV renders, *The Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man;* but the Ancient Versions translate *remain:* 𝔊 καταμείνῃ, 𝔖 ܬܥܡܕ, 𝔍 *permanebit*, 𝔗° יתקיים. ידון here apparently stands for יָדוֹם like *dân*, *idân*, for *dâma*, *i̯adâmu* in the Arab. dialect of Egypt; cf. also دينة, *incessant rain*, for ديمة. See AJSL **26**, 4 and WZKM **23**, 365. With דון may be connected the noun אֶדֶן, *pedestal* (GB 15, 11[b]). It appears in

Assyr. as *adattu* = *adamtu*. The א may be secondary like the ה in הֲדֹם, *footstool*, from the same root as דום. Cocceius, quoted by J. D. Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lexica Heb.*, p. 107, had already recognized this and translated הֲדֹם רגלים by *requiem pedum, foot-rest.* הֲדֹם may be compared with our *stand*, cf. AJSL **26**, 22, n. 36. In the same way Ethiopic ሀድመት, = תַּרְדֵּמָה, may be connected with the root דם. Arab. دنّ may also be derived from this root, دمّ becoming دنّ by partial assimilation. The IV. form أَدَنَّ = اقام, *to stay, remain.*

6.—The stem דמם, *to moan,* must be compared with Assyrian *damâmu,* to weep, lament, sigh (cf. references above, § 1, under דמם II in BDB). The noun *dumâmu,* wildcat, literally, *the howling* or *muttering one* (cf. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugetiere bei den Südsemitischen Völkern,* p. 119), and Ethiopic ደመት, *cat,* must be connected with this stem. Arab. دِمَّة in the sense of *cat,* according to Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* I, 459, is an Ethiopic loanword; cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.* (1910), p. 58, and Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere* (1894), p. 448. Domesticated cats are chiefly of African origin and were unknown to the Arabs before the time of Mohammed; cf. Hommel, *Säugetiere,* pp. 319, 355, 385. The stem דמם then, according to Haupt, WZKM **23**, 365, may be denominative, and may originally have meant *to cry like a cat, to mewl, to miau;* and then *to moan,* especially, *to moan softly, to whisper, to mutter.* In Arab. this stem appears in دمدم, *to snarl, talk rudely* or *angrily, denounce, abuse,* and, with partial assimilation of the م to the د, in دنّ, *to hum* or *buzz.*

7.—In the Talmud דמם, *to whisper,* occurs Taan. 20a, דממו הרוחות, *the winds whisper, rustle;* cf. דממה, Ps. 107 29, § 58 (AJSL **26**, 5). In Ber. 19a יושב ודומם may mean, *sit and whisper.* The pt. pass. דְּמוּמָה, Lam. R. to I, 17, should be translated *sighing.* Beside דמם there is found in post-Bibl. Heb. a byform דום (contrast הדמים from דמם = דום, § 5), *to whisper, speak in a low voice, spread an evil report;* then *to be suspected, notorious.* So Yeb. 52 a, מידם הוא דָיִים מחמתיה, *he*

was suspected of illicit relations with his mother-in-law; Kidd. 12b, דַּיְּמָא חמתיה מיניה, *his mother-in-law was suspected.* דּוּמָה (cf. דִּבָּה, § 8), Nidd. 66a, denotes an *evil report;* but Sot. 27a and Gitt. 69b a *woman of ill-repute.* The latter passage speaks of a דומה בת דומה, *an ill-reputed daughter of an ill-reputed mother.* Like דּוּמָה, so also דּוּמִי, M. Kat. 18b; Yeb. 25a, דימה, and דְּמוּת mean *whisper, evil report, gossip.*

8.—Another byform of דמם, *to whisper*, may be the verb דבב, *to whisper, speak evil, be hostile.* For the interchange of ב and מ see ZA 2, 268. In Assyr. *dabâbu*, to speak, frequently means *to speak secretly against, plan, plot, intrigue.* The combination *bêl dabâbi* denotes an accuser, enemy, and has passed into Syriac as ܒܥܠ ܕܒܒܐ = Talm. בַּעַל דְּבָב. In Arab. we find دَبَّ, *to spread slander*, with the noun دَبُوب, *slanderer.* דִּבָּה, *slandering, calumny*, in the Talmud denotes also *an ill-reputed woman;* cf. דּוּמָה above. From the same root as דמם may be derived the verb דמע, *to weep.* Thus its original meaning would be *to moan. To weep* formerly meant not only *to shed tears*, but *to wail, lament.* Compare *to cry = to shed tears.* In a number of cases ע is thus found to be a secondary addition to the root; cf. AJSL 23, 245. 252, and Lagarde, *Symmicta*, p. 121 ff., *On the Classification of Semitic Roots.* Thus סגד = קדד; بعق = בק; קער = קר etc.

9.—In the §§ now following are discussed all the O. T. passages in which occur forms of דום, *to stay*, or of דמם, *to mutter*, or their byforms and derivatives.

10.—In the poetical quotation Jos. 10 12 13 the verb דום is found twice. For a metrical arrangement of the couplet see AJSL 26, 4. — AV renders דום and ידם correctly *stand still* and *stood still*, respectively, following the Ancient Versions: 𝔊 στήτω—ἔστη, 𝔗 ואוריך—ואוריך, 𝔖 ܣܦܝ—ܣܦܝ, 𝔍 *ne moveris—steterunt.* 'A alone, oddly though consistently, even here employs σιώπα. Modern translators who offer correctly *to halt, stand still*, develop this meaning from דמם, *to be silent*, which is possible theoretically, but does not seem necessary. It is simpler and more satisfactory to derive דּוֹם and וַיִּדֹּם from דום, *to stay*, as J. D. Michaelis did.

11.—1 Sam. 14 relates how Saul, leading the Israelites, waged war against the Philistines. While he tarries in the uttermost parts of Gibeah, Jonathan plans to go over to the Philistines' garrison at Michmash. As he and his armorbearer draw near to the camp of the enemy, Jonathan is undecided whether to attack or to wait until the Philistines would open hostilities. He finally says to his companion, v. 9: אם כֹּה יאמרו אלינו דֹּמּוּ עד הגיענו אליכם ועמדנו תחתינו ולא נעלה אליהם: *If they say thus unto us, Halt until we come to you; then we will stay in our place and not go up unto them.*—AV correctly renders דֹּמּוּ by *tarry*, following 𝔗 אוריכו, and 𝔍 *manete*. 𝔊 has ἀπόστητε, *stand aloof*, and 𝔗 ܫܬܘܩܘ. The last, frequently employed by 𝔖 for forms of דום or דמם in the Hebrew text, leaves it undecided whether the translator believed דמו to mean *to be silent* or *to be motionless*. ܫܬܩ may denote either, and Heb. שקט may be a transposition of שתק, with ט for ת owing to the preceding ק. 'A also here has σιωπήσατε, although the context clearly shows that דמו and עמדנו are synonyms. Modern commentators all translate דמו correctly by *halt* or *stand still*.

12.—For Jer. 8 14 where דום occurs in the same meaning as in the preceding passages see § 35.

13.—דום in the sense *to stay, remain*, is found in the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. 2. A detailed discussion of the poem and a reconstruction of the Heb. text, together with a translation, is published by Haupt ZDMG 58, 620 ff.; cf. also AJSL 20, 168, n. 49. V. 9ª, the first line of the seventh couplet may be translated: He watches the feet of His faithful, while the wicked remain in darkness.

In 𝔊 v. 9 is omitted entirely; 𝔗 in its paraphrase translates ידמו by יתדנון, *shall be judged;* 𝔖 offers ܢܫܬܬܩܘܢ, 𝔍 *conticescent*. Modern commentators render ידמו by *to be dumb*, deriving it from דמם, *to be silent*. However, it seems preferable to point יָדֹמּוּ, from דום, which would then be equivalent to Arab. يخلدون; cf. Coranic passages like 2, 37: اولائك اصحاب النار هم فيها خالدون.

14.—In Jer. 47 6ᵇ דום is found together with רגע, *to rest*. The sword of Jhvh is addressed:

הֵאָסְפִי אֶל תַּעְרֶךָ הַרְגְּעִי וְדֳמִי׃
Enclose thyself in thy sheath, rest and stay

For דמי 𝔗 has תנוחין, 𝔖 ܫܒܩ, 'A σιώπησον 𝔍 *sile*. 𝔊, καὶ ἐπάρθητι, seems to have read וְרֻמִי. Graf and Duhm translate דֳּמִי *sei still*, Giesebrecht, *raste*, deriving the form from דמם. With raphe over the מ it may better be explained as an intr. impv. Q. of דום, *to stay*.

15.—In Job 31 33 דום means *to stay in*. Job defends himself against the charges of his friends and says, v. 33^a+34^b:

אִם־כִּסִּיתִי כְאָדָם פִּשְׁעִי וְאָדָם לֹא־אָצָא פֶּתַח׃
If I concealed my sins among men,
staying in and not going out.

RT has כאדם, but באדם with nine MSS is preferable. In v. 34^b the Versions offer some difficulties. 𝔗𝔍 follow RT closely, ושתקית לא אפוק מעלנא and *et non magis tacui, nec egressus sum ostium*. 𝔖 pointed the Heb. וְאָדָם לֹא אָצָא פֶּתַח = ܘܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܐ, and then adds, ܘܠܐ ܫܬܩ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܩ ܒܒܝܬܐ for which the corresponding Heb. words are not found in RT. 𝔊 reads εἰ δὲ καὶ εἴασα ἀδύνατον ἐξελθεῖν θύραν μου κόλπῳ κενῷ. Modern commentators follow 𝔗𝔍, *And I kept quiet, did not go out of doors* (so Duhm, Budde, and others), deriving וְאָדָם from דמם. It may be preferable, however, to point וְאָדָם from דום, *to stay*.

16.—In Arab. دام means also *to continue*, and Heb. דום seems likewise to have had this meaning. A derivative from it in this sense may be the noun דּוּמִיָּה, a formation like נָכְרִיָּה, תַּחְתִּיָּה, עַלְיָה; cf. GK, § 86, l, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 406. Comp. also post-Bibl. pl. forms like אוֹתִיּוֹת, *letters, signs*, and פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת, *sections*. In Ps. 39 3 דומיה is employed in an adverbial sense:

נֶאֱלַמְתִּי דוּמִיָּה הֶחֱשֵׁיתִי מִבְּטוֹ וְכַאֲבִי נֶעְכָּר׃
I kept quiet continually, was silent
from talking rashly, and my pain was suppressed.

מִבְּטוֹ or מִבְּטֹא, *so as not to talk rashly*, with Gunkel; for מן see GK, § 119, x. דומיה = Arab. دَوْمًا. נעכר may mean, *was suppressed*, Syriac ܥܟܪ, *to hinder, prevent*.

17.—Just as *to stay* in English may mean *to wait*, so also דום, e. g. Job 29 21. This verse forms a part of Job's description of his former happiness and of the great honor and respect shown him by his fellowmen. In v. 21 he says:

לִי שמְעוּ ויחְלוּ · וְיָדֹמוּ למוֹ עצתִי׃

To me they listened and stayed,
and for counsel from me they waited.

We might feel tempted to read למועצתי with several MSS, from מוֹעֵצָה; but cf. Job 27 14; 38 40; 40 4.—The Ancient Versions with one exception translate וידמו by *and they were silent*, 𝔗 שתיקו; 𝔊 ἐσιώπησαν; 𝔍 *tacebant*; 𝔖 alone has ܘܫܡܥܘ. Modern commentators offer various explanations for ידמו. Hengstenberg renders 21[b], *They became silent at my counsel*, i. e. *they received it with reverent silence.* Similarly Franz Delitzsch and Hitzig: *And quietly they yielded to my counselling.* Duhm follows Wright who transposes ויחלו and וידמו, changing the former to וַיְחַכּוּ: *To me they hearkened and were silent, and waited for my counsel.* Budde considers this change unnecessary and translates 21[b], *and they listened silently to my counsel.* וידמו is undoubtedly here a synonym of ויחלו, and if we point וְיָדֹמוּ, from דום, *to stay, wait*, the passage becomes perfectly clear.

18.—In Ps. 37 7[a] דום, *to wait*, is used in the expression *to wait for JHVH*, where we usually find קוה employed: דום ליהוה והוחל־לו, *stay for JHVH and wait for Him.*—For הִתְחוֹלֵל of RT it seems better to read הוחל, impv. Hif. of יחל. The final ל in התחולל may be due to dittography; the *mater lectionis* ו is a later insertion, and the ת may be a corruption of ו; cf. AJSL **24**, 105. It is doubtful whether חיל, *to wait*, occurs in Heb. In Jer. 3 25 we may read וייַחלו, from יחל; and in Job 35 14 Budde prefers ותוחל or ותיחל, but the impv. may also here be better. חלה, Mi. 1 12, means *she suffered, travailed, labored;* cf. AJSL **27**, 29, n. 33 and n. 35.—𝔗 translates דום by שתוק; Ἀ σίγησον; and Σ ἡσύχαζε. 𝔍 offers *subditus esto*, following 𝔊 ὑποτάγηθι. 𝔖 renders 7[a]; ܒܥܝ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܨܠܐ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ, *ask from the Lord and pray before Him.* The commentaries derive דום from דמם, *to be silent*; so Baethgen, Duhm, and others. Duhm

correctly observes that the ו is then superfluous and he cancels it. Briggs translates, *Be resigned to JHVH*, and Wellhausen (SBOT), *Submit quietly*. But parallelism requires דום to be a synonym of הוחל. דום in RT can be derived only from an ע"ו-verb, and an impv. of דום, *to stay, wait,* would suit the context perfectly.

19.—In Ps. 62 6 the psalmist again exhorts the faithful to put their trust in God and employs דום as in the preceding passage. V. 2 should be emended so as to agree word for word with v. 6:

אך־לאלהים דומי נפשי כי־ממנו תקותי׃
For God alone wait, O my soul,
for from Him comes my help.

The Masoretes pointed דומי with dagesh in the מ despite the fact that the consonantal text requires an impv. of an ע"ו verb. 𝔗 translates it by שתוקי; 𝔖 has ܣܒܪ, *expect;* 𝔊 ὑποτάγηθι; 𝔄 σίγησον; 𝔍 *subjecta esto.* AV renders correctly *wait*, as does Luther, *harret*, but contrast v. 2, *Meine Seele ist stille zu Gott.* The commentaries fail to hit the meaning of דומי. Baethgen, Duhm, Briggs, and others translate it *be silent*; Wellhausen (SBOT), *submit silently.*

20.—*To wait* may mean *to tarry*, and this seems to be the meaning of דום in Ps. 83 2. RT is perhaps influenced by Is. 62 6. 7. The original text may have been:

אלהים אל־תדם לך אל־תחרש ואל תשקט׃
O God, do Thou not tarry,
be not mute, and be not inactive.

RT offer אל דָּמִי לך translated by Duhm and others, *Let there be no rest unto Thee.* But the Ancient Versions evidently read a verbal form: 𝔗 לא תשתוק לך; 𝔊 τίς ὁμοιωθήσεται σοί; Vulgate, *quis similis erit tibi;* 𝔍 *ne taceas;* 𝔖 ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘ ܠܟ. 𝔊, Vulg., and 𝔖 seem to have read in their Heb. text: אלהים מי ידמה לך, cf. Ps. 89 7. דָּמִי is best changed to תָּדֹם, impf. Q. of דום. For the *dat. ethicus* cf. GK, § 119, s, and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 224.

20.—With the stem דום, *to stay, wait, tarry*, may be connected the noun דּוּמָה, which appears as the name of several cities.

One of these is mentioned by Abulfedâ; see Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, II, 1 (Paris, 1848), p. 109, n. 4; cf. p. 130. There is a large village Dûmah near Damascus according to Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien* (1910), p. 315. Because Abulfedâ speaks of rocky Dûmah, J. D. Michaelis believed that it bore the name Dûmah on account of the rocky and solid foundation on which it was built and which ensured its abiding existence. Haupt, AJSL **26**, 20, n. 13, suggests with greater probability that Dûmah simply means *Stay* or *Sojourn*, and was a name given to these places by nomadic tribes. The name of the Moabite city דִּיבוֹן may have the same meaning. It appears as דִּימוֹן in Is. 15 9 which may be an older form of דִּיבוֹן. דִּימוֹן stands for דּוּמוֹן with vocalic dissimilation, cf. Brockelmann, *Kurzgef. vergl. Gram.* § 56, D, and OLZ **12**, 164 b. In Is. 21 11 דּוּמָה is probably a mistake for אֱדוֹם, cf. SBOT and Kautzsch, *D. Heil. Schr.*[3]

21.—דּוּמָה appears also as a synonym of שְׁאוֹל and is generally supposed to mean *silence*. This name for Hades, however, must rather be compared with the expression בֵּית עוֹלָם, cf. Koh. 12 5 and Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der semitischen Epigraphik*, I, 235. The same expression is found also in Egyptian; cf. AJSL **26**, 20, n. 13, and the statement of Diodorus Siculus, I, 51, concerning the Egyptians, *τοὺς δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάφους ἀϊδίους οἴκους προσαγορεύουσιν, ὡς ἐν ᾅδου διατελούντων τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα.* Cf. also *Book of Jubilees*, 36 1, ቤተ ፡ ዘለዓለም, and Tobit 6 3, *αἰώνιον τόπον.* דּוּמָה thus means *abiding*, sc. *abode*, and must be derived from דום, *to stay, continue*; cf. Arab. دائم, *eternal*, دائميّة, *eternity*. In the Talmud דּוּמָה means not only the *land of death*, but, construed as a masc. noun, is used to designate the *angel of death*.

22.—A Polel of דום in the sense of *to cause to stay, to check*, occurs Ps. 131, one of the Songs of Ascent. For a discussion of the poem see AJSL **11**, 74. 157—162; **2**, 105, and JAOS **27**, 117. V. 2 may be read as follows:

אם־לֹא דוֹמַמְתִּי נַפְשִׁי כְּגָמֻל עַלִּי־אִמּוֹ׃
If I did not check my soul
as a weaned child upon its mother —

For דוממתי 'A offers *κατεσιώπησα*; 𝔗 שתיקית. Σ, *ὡμοίωσα*, derived the verb from דמה, *to be like*, while 𝔊 *ὕψωσα*, and 𝔍, *exaltavi*, read רוממתי. 𝔖 omits the verb entirely. Modern commentators translate דוממתי by *I have quieted*, literally, *I have silenced;* so Duhm, Baethgen, Stevens, and others.

23.—With the stem דום has been connected הוֹמָם, usually considered an adv. like יוֹמָם, cf. GK, § 100, g. But it seems rather doubtful whether a word הוֹמָם existed at all in Heb. It occurs in three passages, and in all of them it is very easy by a slight change in pointing to explain the form differently. In the difficult passage Lam. 3 26 ודומם of v. 26 and וידם of v. 28 should be transposed and the former pointed וְדוֹמֵם, part. Q. of דמם, *to mutter;* see below § 61. In Is. 47 5 דומם should be changed to דָּמוֹם, inf. abs. Q. of דמם, *to mutter* or *moan*; see below § 62. Finally, in Hab. 2 19 דומם should be pointed דּוֹמֵם, part. Polel of דום with omission of the preformative מ; cf. GK, § 52, s. The expression אבן הוֹמֵם should then be translated *rigid stone*. הוֹמָם of RT is usually rendered *silently;* but it seems that the rigidity and inability of the stone to move is emphasized and not so much its lack of speech. If we point דּוֹמֵם, the development of meaning of דום would be, *to stay, remain, be motionless, rigid*. אבן is fem. and so we should expect הוֹמֶמָה, but the masc. part. may readily be explained according to GK, § 128, w; cf. also the remarks in *Crit. Notes on Kings* (SBOT), p. 133, l. 5. 𝔊 omits דומם altogether; 𝔗 paraphrases, והוא שתקא ודמיא, *and he is still and rigid*. דמיא is derived by Levy, *Chald. Wörterb. üb. d. Targumim*, from דְּמִי, a byform of דמם, *to be silent;* but דְּמִי may just as well be a byform of דום, *to stay*. 𝔖 renders דומם by ܐܝܠܡ, *dumb, deaf*, and 𝔍 offers *tacenti*. San. 91a כאבן דומם must be translated *like a rigid stone*.

24.—Ex. 15 16 דום has the same meaning as in the preceding passage. For a metrical arrangement of the couplet see Haupt, AJSL 20, 149 ff. ידמו כאבן may be translated *they are rigid as stone*. AV renders *they are still as a stone*, which fails to express whether the Egyptians are meant to be described as silent or as motionless. 𝔗 also leaves us in doubt with ישתקון. 𝔖 offers ܢܬܚܡ, *they sink*, the same verb employed in v. 5 for יָרְדוּ, translating ידמו freely as the context seemed to require.

𝔊 ἀπολιθωθήτωσαν, Σ, ἀκίνητοι ἔσονται, and 𝔍 *fiant immobiles quasi lapides,* give the best translations, and are followed by Luther: *Daß sie erstarren wie die Steine.* The interpretation of St. Gregory of Nyssa quoted in Field's Hexapla, I. p. 108, n. 29, is concise and to the point: ἐπιπέσοι — ἀπολιθωθήτωσαν· ὅπερ ἐστί, τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως ἀκίνητοι διαμεινάτωσαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐκνευρισθέντες. Modern commentators, so Baentsch, Strack, and others, translate וידמו by *they are dumb,* though this is apparently not the meaning required by the context. The writer does not wish to say that the Egyptians were dumb, but rather that they stood dumbfounded, petrified by fear and astonishment, so that they could not escape the returning waters which carried with them unavoidable death. The verb may be pointed וְיִדְּמוּ, impf. Nif. of דום, or וְיָדְמוּ, impf. Q., though the former may, perhaps, deserve preference.

25.—דום, *to be dumbfounded,* is found again Lev. 10 3. Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, had offered strange fire before JHVH and in consequence were consumed by Him. Moses informs their father of the calamity, and adds a quotation in which JHVH is made to say, *Among those who are near me I will manifest my sanctity, and before all the people will I manifest my glory.* The Heb. text then continues, וידם אהרון, translated by AV, *And Aaron held his peace.* 𝔗 offers ושתיק, 𝔖 ܘܫܬܩ, 𝔍 *tacuit,* and 'A, perhaps, ἐσιώπησεν. 𝔊 translates ידם by κατενύχθη, which is explained by a scholium to be equivalent to παρεμυθήθη, *he was consoled.* However, Passow, *Handwörterb. d. griech. Spr.*, s. v. states that κατανύσσω is used especially of such confusion and terror as deprives one of speech and energy. Stephanus, *Thesaurus,* s. v., says, *Isidorus autem (Ep. 4, 101), ut idem* (sc. Suidas) *annotat,* καταπλαγῶ, μεταστῶ. The noun κατάνυξις denotes *stunning, stupefaction. To stupefy* may mean *to deprive of mobility;* cf. πνεῦμα κατανύξεως (= רוח תרדמה, Is. 29 10), Rom. 11 8, and κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν, Acts 2 37. Bearing in mind the situation, κατενύχθη in Lev. 10 3 may readily have the meaning *he was stupefied.* The Ethiopic Version supports this view with its translation ወደንጋፀ ፡ አሮን. Modern commentators adhere to the translation *and he was silent* (so Dillmann-Ryssel, Strack, and

others), interpreting this to mean either that Aaron in silence acknowledged the justice of JHVH's judgment, or that he was consoled when he heard that his sons were so severely punished because they were near to JHVH. These scholars derive ויִדֹּם from דמם, *to be silent,* but from what has been said above it seems preferable to consider it an impf. Nif. of דום, *to stay, remain, be rigid.*

26.—If RT is correct in Jer. 14 9 נִדְהָם may be regarded as part. Nif. of דהם, which might be a byform of דום in the sense in which it occurs Ex. 15 16 and Lev. 10 3. However, we should probably read נִרְדָּם with 𝔊 ὑπνῶν.

27.—דום not only means *to stay, remain, be motionless,* but also *to stop, cease;* so Job 30 27ª, מעי רֻתחו ולא־דמו, *my inner parts boiled without ceasing.* דמו is rendered by 𝔊 σιωπήσεται; 𝔖 has ܫܠܝܘ, 𝔍 *absque ulla requie.* 𝔗 translates ולא דמו by ולית בהון חיזו דמא, *and not is in them an appearance of blood.* ולא דמו is best taken as a circumstantial clause, *without ceasing,* as Delitzsch, Duhm, Volck and Oettli have done, though these commentators derive דמו from דמם, *to be silent.* רתח = המה, cf. Cant. 5 4. ܪܬܚ means *to be greatly moved, excited,* with the noun ܪܬܚܐ, *fervor, enthusiasm, excitement.* The meaning of the first hemistich is, My excitement was high and did not cease; cf. Assyr. *iççárix kabittî,* my liver cried, i. e., *I was enraged,* HW, 574. Also *libbî egug* means originally, *my heart cried;* cf. Arab. عجّ. *Nuggatu,* excitement, means originally *shouting,* cf. HW, 446.

28.—ולא דמו occurs again in Ps. 35 15. With Haupt the second line of this difficult couplet may be read:

נכרִים לא־ידִעתי קרצִו ולא־דִמו:
Strangers whom I knew not
nagged without ceasing.

Olshausen's נָכְרִים is probably the best emendation for נֵכִים of RT. The omission of ר after כ may be due to haplography; cf. AJSL 26, 10. קרעו of RT may be an Aram. form equivalent to Heb. קרצו from קרץ, Arab. قرص, *to nag.* In the same way we find רעע for רצץ; cf. GB 15, 917 a and AJSL 23, 243;

also Haupt, *Assyr. Lautlehre*, p. 95, n. 4. The translation *without ceasing* (so Duhm, Baethgen, and others) for ולא דמו is undoubtedly correct; but the form should not be derived from דמם, *to be silent*, but rather from דום, *to stay, stop, cease*. For דמו 𝔊 has *κατενύγησαν*, 𝔍 *compuncti*, 'A *ἐσιώπησαν*; 𝔗 seems to have read a noun דם, *blood*, while 𝔖 appears to have had a text in which the verb was wanting entirely.

29.—The three passages now following all resemble each other, and all exhibit forms of דום, *to cease*, or of its byform דמה. The first is Lam. 2 18 where Zion is exhorted not to stop weeping, אל־תִּדֹם בת־עיניך, *let thine eye not cease*. RT points תִּדֹם which might be taken as Nif. of דום, but the pointing תָּדֹם, impf. Q., is preferable. For תדם 𝔗 offers תשתוק, 𝔖 ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ, 𝔊 *σιωπήσαιτο*, 𝔍 *taceat*. All modern commentators derive תדם from דמם, *to be silent*, taking it in a metaphorical sense; so Löhr, Volck and Oettli, Ewald, and others. The translation *let cease* is required by the context as has long been recognized.

30.—דמה = דום, *to cease*, occurs in Lam. 3 49[a], עיני נגרה ולא־תדמה *restlessly flows mine eye*. Of the Ancient Versions 𝔖 translates ולא תשתוק correctly ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ ܥܝܢܝ; 𝔗 has ולא תשתוק, and 𝔍 *nec tacuit*. 𝔊 read first pers. sing., *οὐ σιγήσομαι*. Löhr's translation *without interruption* is correct, though *without ceasing* would be clearer.

31.—In the same meaning דמה is found Jer. 14 17. Among the Ancient Versions 𝔊, *καὶ μὴ διαλιπέτωσαν*, gives the best translation for ולא תדמינה. 𝔗 offers ולא ישתקן, 𝔖 ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܩܘ ܥܝܢܝ, 𝔍 *et non taceant*. Duhm and Giesebrecht correctly render *and may not cease*.

32.—From דום in the sense *to stay, stop, cease*, may be derived the noun דּוּמִיָּה, occurring Ps. 22 3[b]. A metrical arrangement of vv. 2 and 3 is found in *Crit. Notes on Kings* (SBOT), p. 170, n.*. ולא דְמִיָּה־לי should be translated *there is for me no pause*. For the form of דומיה see above § 16.

33.—In Ps. 65 2 דְּמִיָּה of RT should be changed to דֹּמִיָּה, *it is meet*, fem. part. Q. of דמה, *to be like*, on the basis of the Versions: 𝔊 *πρέπει*, 𝔖 ܝܐܐ, and 𝔍 *decet*, which are followed by Ewald, Cheyne, and others. לך דמיה תהלה may then be translated *a song of praise befits Thee*. For the form דמיה cf.

ZDMG **61**, 194, n. 2. דמה is used here in the same sense as שוה in Est. 3 8. Syr. ܕܡܝܐ means *probable, likely*, and we, too, use *likely* in the sense of *suitable, fit.*

34.—The causative of דום means *to cause to cease, put an end to, destroy*, compare סוף and Assyr. *quttû* and *gamâru.* All the forms in which דום occurs in this meaning might also be pointed as forms of דמם, which one might be tempted to consider a byform of תמם (cf. Duhm's emendation cited below, § 59), with partial assimilation of ת to the following מ. In the same way might be explained Arab. دمّ, *to exterminate*, for تمّ. In a like sense is used دمدم. From the same root as these may be derived دمر, *to perish*, and دمر, *to destroy*, and هذم, *to tear down, destroy* (= نقض). It seems unnecessary, however, to assume a Heb. stem דמם = תמם, *to exterminate.*

35.— Jer. 8 14 exhibits both a causative of דום in the sense of *to destroy* and an impf. Q. of the same verb in the meaning *to stay, remain.* From the context we gather that a hostile invasion has taken place, and that the country people are no longer safe. One of them exhorts his fellowmen to seek refuge in the fortified cities. נדמה is variously pointed and translated by lexicographers and commentators. The Versions give us no assistance, 𝔖𝔗 have נשתוק, 'A and Σ σιγήσωμεν, 𝔍 *quiete simus.* ἀποῤῥιφῶμεν of 𝔊 probably reproduces Heb. נֵרָמֵה. GB[15], König (*Heb. Wb.*), and Giesebrecht consider נִדְּמָה of RT an impf. Q. of דמם with ה cohort. and translate *let us be destroyed*, by metonymy for *let us be silent.* Siegfried-Stade (*Heb. Wb.*), Duhm, and Graf regard נִדְּמָה as impf. Nif. of דמם, the doubling of the מ having been given up, and translate *let us be destroyed.* Ball, *The Prophecies of Jer.*, p. 182, renders *be silent* (or *amazed, stupefied with terror*). If we translate ונדמה *and let us be destroyed,* it appears that the people are troubling themselves unnecessarily by retreating to the fortified cities. If destruction must needs overtake them, one would expect them to meet their fate in silent resignation at their houses. However, if we point נָדֹמָה, *let us stay*, cohort. impf. Q. of דום, this difficulty is removed.

הדמנו has likewise proved a troublesome element. 𝔗 para-

phrases it איתי עלנה תבר ואבהתנא, while 𝔖 renders it by ܫܬܩܢ, 'A and Σ by κατεσιώπησεν ἡμᾶς. ἀπέῤῥιψεν of 𝔊 probably presupposes הִרְמָנוּ in the Heb. text. 𝔍 has *silere fecit.* Ball would adhere to this translation, rendering הדמנו by *He hath silenced us* (*with speechless terror*). Graf, Duhm, and Giesebrecht prefer *He lets us perish.* Cornill emends the text and reads הֲדֵם הֲדִמָּנוּ, besides restoring לוֹ for ליהוה on the basis of 𝔊 ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ. Graetz, *Emendationes* (1892), suggests הִרְוָנוּ, *He saturated us*, for הדמנו. As several MSS offer הרמנו (cf. De Rossi, *Scholia Crit. in V. T. Libros*) the change would be slight, but seems unnecessary. It is probably best to read הֲדִמָּנוּ. The translation *He causes us to perish* is correct, but the form should not be derived from דמם, *to be silent*, but rather from דום, *to stay, stop, cease.*

36.—Hos. 4 5 the Piel of דמה = דום seems to have the same meaning as the Hif. of דום in the preceding paragraph. For דמיתי the Ancient Versions offer a variety of translations: 𝔊 ὡμοίωσα (דמה, *to be like*), 𝔗 ואבהית, *and I disgraced*, 𝔖 ܘܫܬܩܬ, 𝔍 *tacere feci.* Marti alters the text and reads ודמֹתי, but this is extremely doubtful. A Piel of דמה, *to stay, cease*, seems to suit the context far better. אִמֵּךְ of RT may easily be a corruption of עמי.

37.—Hos. 4 6, reading

נדמָה עמִי מבלִי הדָעת:
My people is destroyed
through lack of knowledge,

Haupt considers an explanatory gloss to the preceding verse. 𝔊 ὡμοιώθη derives נדמה from דמה, *to be like.* 𝔗 has איטפשו, *are foolish*, 𝔖 ܫܬܩ, 𝔍 *conticuit.* Nowack correctly renders *my people perishes.* The pointing of RT נִדְמָה may be retained as perf. Nif. of דמה = דום, *to stop, cease, come to an end.*

38.—In a number of passages the Nif. of דום occurs in the meaning *to be destroyed, to perish.* So in Jer. 49 26[b] and 50 30[b]. For ידמו 𝔗 has יתברון, *they shall be broken*, 𝔖 ܢܫܬܩܘܢ, 𝔗 *conticescent.* These Versions offer the same translation in both passages. But 𝔊 translates ידמו in 49 26 by πεσοῦνται, in 50 30 by ῥιφήσονται, probably reading נֵרָמוּ in

the latter. The commentaries correctly translate ידמו by *they shall be exterminated* (Graf), or *they shall perish, be destroyed.* However, the form should not be derived from דמם, *to be silent,* but from דום, *to stay, stop, cease,* or, if we point יִדָּמֹו, from דמה = דום.

39.—In Jer. 51 6 the Jewish community resident at Babylon is addressed and requested to flee from this city, אל־תדמו בעונה, *in her punishment perish ye not.* For אל־תדמו 𝔗 has לא תקטלון בחובהא *be not slain in her sin,* followed by 𝔖 ܠܐ ܬܬܟܠܘܢ ܒܚܛܗܝܗ; 'A offers μήποτε σιωπήσητε, Σ μὴ σιωπηθῆτε, 𝔍 *nolite tacere super iniquitatem eius.* Graf translates תדמו correctly by *perish,* as he does in 49 26; Giesebrecht and others offer practically the same. The stem, however, is not דמם, *to be silent,* but דום, *to cease, to perish,* or, if we point תִּדָּמֹו, דמה = דום.

40.—In Ps. 49 13. 21 נמשל כבהמות נדמו should be translated *he is like the beasts that perish.* All the Ancient Versions regarded נדמו as Nif. of דמה, *to be like.* 𝔊 καὶ ὡμοιώθη αὐτοῖς, 𝔗 היך בעירא אשתווא ללמא, *like a beast he may be likened to nothing,* 𝔖 ܘܐܬܕܡܝ ܠܗ, 𝔍 *et aequatus est.* Baethgen renders it *they must become silent.* But נָדֹמוּ rather means *they perish,* perf. Nif. of דום, *to stay, stop, cease;* or perhaps also here the traditional pointing may be retained and נִדְמוּ may be taken as perf. Nif. of דמה = דום. The hemistich means, *Man ends just as the beasts end,* cf. Ecc. 3 19.

41.—Ps. 31 is a prayer to Jhvh for deliverance from distress. The second hemistich of v. 18 רשעים ידמו לשאול may be translated *let the wicked be despatched to Sheol.* The Versions differ considerably in their translations of v. 18ᵇ; 𝔗 has ישתקון ויחתון לשיול, 𝔊 καὶ καταχθείησαν εἰς ᾅδου, 'AΣ σιωπησάτωσαν εἰς ᾅδου, 𝔖 ܘܢܚܬܘܢ ܠܫܝܘܠ, 𝔍 *et deducentur in infernum,* some MSS *taceant in inferno.* This diversity goes to show how unstable tradition was as to the exact meaning of ידמו. RV follows 'AΣ, *Let them be silent in the grave.* Graetz feels that the expression ידמו לשאול is hard and beyond translation. He proposes to emend ידמו to יֵרְדוּ, a comparatively slight change, but nevertheless one that seems unnecessary. Baethgen and

Duhm retain the traditional reading and translate *let them grow silent toward Sheol.* Briggs renders (*let the wicked*) *be made silent, dumb, going down to Sheol.* SBOT more correctly (*let the wicked*) *be ruined and go down to Sheol.* Already 𝔗 assumed that we are here dealing with a *constructio praegnans.* This is undoubtedly correct. We should, however, point the verb יִדֹּמוּ instead of יִדְּמוּ and derive it from דום, *to stay, cease, perish*, or, perhaps, יִדָּמוּ from דמה = דום. For the translation *despatched* cf. Ez. 23 47, וברא אתהן בחרבותם, for which AV has *and despatch them with their swords.*

42.—In some of the passages discussed it was doubtful whether they contained forms of דום or of its byform דמה. In this paragraph and those immediately following we have clear cases of the occurrence of דמה = דום. So in Hos. 10 7ᵃ where the first two words should be transposed: שֹׁמרון נדמה מלכה, *Samaria—her king will perish.* 𝔊 translates נדמה by ἀπέῤῥιψε; similarly 𝔖, ܐܒܕ, and 𝔍, *transire fecit.* 𝔗 alone has בהיתת, *is disgraced.* The translation *destroyed is the king of Samaria* (Marti, Nowack) is correct, but נדמה should not be derived from דמה = דמם, *to be silent*, but rather from דמה = דום, *to stay, stop, perish.*

43.—In Hos. 10 15ᵇ we may read בשׂער יִדָּמֶה, *in the storm he will end.* בשׂער = בסער, cf. Am. 1 14, with Wellhausen, followed by Nowack and Marti, for בשחר. For נדמֹה נדמה of RT, 𝔊 seems to have read forms of רמה: ἀπεῤῥίφησαν ἀπεῤῥίφη; 𝔗 has בהית ואיתכנע, *was confounded and humbled,* 𝔖 ܬܘܪ ܘܒܗܬ, *was dazed and confounded;* 𝔍 more freely renders *sicut mane transiit, pertransiit rex Israel*, reading probably כשחר. Nowack translates נדמה *will be destroyed*, and Marti, *has disappeared.*

44.—Zeph. 1 describes the punishment Jhvh inflicts upon Judah and Jerusalem. In v. 11 the words כי נדמה כל־עם כנען should be translated with Marti and others *for perished are all the merchants*, as the explanatory gloss suggests. 𝔊 translates נדמה by ὡμοιώθη (דמה = *to be like*). 𝔗 correctly איתבר, *was broken*, while 𝔖 has ܬܘܪܘ, *were confounded*, and 𝔍 *conticuit.*

45.—However, in Ez. 32 2 where נִדְמֵיתָ is usually translated

how hast thou perished (so Bertholet, Kraetzschmar) we have to deal with a Nif. of דמה, *to be like*, cf. 𝔊 *ὡμοιώθης σύ*, 𝔍 *assimilatus es*, 𝔖 ܐܬܕܡܝܬ. The beginning of the verse should read ככפיר גוים נדמית, *like a lion thou didst seem among nations*. Toy, *Ez.* (SBOT), p. 91, would read אל כפיר and הַדְמִיתָ = Syr. ܐܬܕܡܝܬ, but both are unnecessary. For נדמה כ׳ cf. נמשל כ׳, Ps. 49 13. 21, and Assyr. *emû kîma* (HW p. 82). The idea of v. 1[a] is, *Thou didst endeavour to appear as a lion, but thou wast a dragon*, i. e. *a crocodile*.

46.—In Is. 6 5 we must read נִטְמֵיתִי = נִטְמֵאתִי, *I am unclean*, for נדמיתי; cf. ZAT 27, 57.

47.—Jer. 48 2 the Nif. of דום, *to stay, stop, cease*, is used of the destruction of a city. Cornill's arrangement of the verse in *Die metr. Stücke d. B. Jer.*, p. 17, is correct if we omit עליה and read דִּמֵּן for מַדְמֵן with Graetz, *Emendationes*, II, p. 59. גם דִּמֵּן תדמי may be translated *thou, too, O Dimon, art doomed*. For תדמי 𝔊 has *παύσεται*, 𝔖 ܬܫܬܩ, 𝔍 *conticesces*. 𝔗 correctly offers תתברין. Orelli and Duhm imitate the paronomasia in their translations, *Auch du Madmen wirst matt gemacht*. Similarly Giesebrecht. Graf translates תִּדְמִי by *thou wilt be silent*. The stem, however, is דום, *to stay, stop, cease*, and the Masoretic pointing need not be changed, although we might read תִּדָּמִי from דמה = דום. The dagesh in תִּדְמִי may be explained according to GK, § 20, i; cf. the Assyr. forms discussed by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*[2] p. 133.

48.—The word דְּמָה or דִּמָּה (Baer and Ginsburg) occurring Ez. 27 32 is usually explained to mean *one silenced*, or *destroyed*, from דמם, *to be silent*; but it probably owes its existence to a corruption of the text. Various emendations have been suggested. The best is Cornill's כְּבֵדָה, adopted by Toy and Kraetzschmar. כבדה was first miswritten כמדה, and then became כדמה. V. 32[b] should be translated *who was glorious as Tyre*.

49.—Jer 25 37 ונדמו נאות השלום means *and the peaceful meadows are destroyed*. נדמו is correctly translated by 𝔗, יצדון, and 𝔖, ܐܬܚܪܒ, *they are destroyed*. 𝔊 has *παύσεται*, 𝔍 *conticuerunt*. Modern commentators follow 𝔗𝔖 deriving

נדמו from דמם, *to be silent.* But it may be preferable to point נָדֹמּוּ, Nif. of דום, *to stop, cease, perish*, or, perhaps, נִדְמוּ, from דמה = דום. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 64, compares נָדַמּוּ נאות with Assyr. *çûçû idammum*, the canebrake moans. The Nif. in the Heb. is difficult, but may be explained as in the case of אנח, GK, § 51, c; cf. Syr. ܐܶܬܶܢܰܚ and ܐܶܬܬܰܢܰܚ, Assyr. *šutânuxu*. But the Assyr. phrase quoted refers to the sound emitted by the canebrake, while נדמו נאות seems to refer to the aspect.

50.—In the two passages now following דמה has the same meaning as דום in the preceding paragraph. The first is Is. 15 1 where ער־מואב נדמה and קיר־מואב נדמה is to be translated *Ar-Moab was destroyed* and *Kir-Moab was destroyed.* 𝔊 offers ἀπολεῖται (*bis*) for נדמה, 𝔍 *conticuit* (*bis*). For the first נדמה 𝔗 has ואינון דמיכין, *and they are sleeping*, for the second, ואינון רדימין, *and they are slumbering*; 𝔖 in the same way ܘܬܡܗܘ—ܘܬܘܪܘ, *they are stupefied—they are confounded.* Marti and Duhm correctly render נדמה *they are destroyed.* It is not necessary to change the Massoretic pointing, although we may read נָדֹמָה, Nif. of דום. עיר is fem., but for masc. verb preceding a fem. subject cf. GK, § 145, c.

51.—The gloss in Ob. 5 איך נדמיתה must be translated *how hast thou been destroyed.* ποῦ ἂν ἀπερρίφῃς of 𝔊 seems to indicate that it read a Nif. of רמה instead of נדמיתה. 𝔗 has איכדין הויתא דמוך, *how didst thou sleep*, 𝔖 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܫܬܩܬ, 𝔍 *quomodo conticuisses.* Nowack's translation is correct though he derives נדמיתה from דמה = דמם, *to be silent.*

52.—An entirely different stem from דום, *to stay*, is the stem דמם, *to mutter, whisper.* It occurs far less frequently in the O. T. than דום, and some of the passages in which it is found are extremely difficult, not to say desperate. So Ps. 4 5 which has always proved troublesome to commentators. Haupt, AJSL **26**, 22, n. 32, restores the text, rendering דֹּמּוּ by *mutter.* The commentators usually offer *be silent.* The Versions give us no aid whatever to solve the difffculty. 𝔗 very freely paraphrases the passage. For דמו 𝔊 has κατανύγητε, Ἀ σιωπήσατε, Σ ἡσυχάσετε, 𝔖 ܪܢܘ, 𝔍 *compungimini.* But if דֹּמּוּ is derived from דמם, *to mutter*, the passage becomes clear without resorting to emendation.

53.—In Ps. 30 13 דמם has a meaning very similar to that in which it occurred in the preceding passage. Here, however, it denotes rather *to speak in a subdued, hardly audible voice.* ולא יִדֹּם may then be translated *and will not mutter subdued.* For יִדֹּם 𝔗 offers ישתקון, 𝔊 κατανυγῶ, 𝔄 σιωπήσῃ, 𝔖 ܢܫܬܩ, 𝔍 *compungar.* Most modern commentators translate the verb by *be silent,* or *become silent*; Wellhausen and Zenner-Wiesmann alone, *without ceasing.* The latter is possible. יִדֹּם would then have to be pointed as a form of דום, *to stay, stop.* But there seems to be a contrast between זמר and דמם, and taking the former to mean *to extol*, the meaning suggested above for the latter would be very appropriate. The idea that the praise is to go on forever is expressed in v. 13b.

54.—From the stem דמם, *to mutter, whisper*, is derived the noun דְּמָמָה. 𝔊𝔍 translate it by αὔρα and *aura*, respectively, denoting a *gentle breeze.* In 1 Kings 19 Jhvh reveals Himself to Elijah. First there was a storm, an earthquake, and fire, but in none of these was Jhvh. In v. 12b, then, we are told ואחר האש קול דממה דקה, *and after fire the sound of a soft whisper*, and in this was Jhvh.

55.—Again, Ps. 107 29, we read יקם סערה לדממה, *He hushes the storm to a whisper.*

56.—Finally, Job 4 16:

תמונה לנגד עיני דממה וקול אשמע׃

A form was before mine eyes,
a whispering voice I heard.

AV translates *there was silence and I heard a voice*, inserting *there was* for which there is no warrant in the Heb. text.

57.—In the passages now following דמם is used in connection with mourning or bewailing some misfortune, either the death of some person, a national calamity, or some grievous moral evil encroaching upon a nation. So in Am. 5 13. For יִדֹּם 𝔗 has שתיקו, 𝔖 ܢܫܬܩ, 𝔊 σιωπήσεται, 𝔍 tacebit. The commentaries translate *therefore the prudent is silent at that time;* so Nowack, Marti, and others. However, the idea of the passage is similar rather to that expressed Prov. 29 2b: במשל רשע יאנח עם, *when the wicked rules the people sighs.* יִדֹּם is there-

fore better derived from דמם, *to mutter, sigh.* משכיל, *prudent* = *pious*; see GB[15], 779 b, s. v. שכל; cf. Haupt, *Eccl.*, p. 35, n. 1 on II.

58.—Ez. 24 15-27 the prophet is informed of the impending death of his wife. Yet at the same time he is commanded not to conform to the customary rites of mourning when she is dead. At the beginning of v. 17 הֵאָנק דֹּם means *sigh and moan*; cf. the second half of the preceding verse. See AJSL **24**, 133, n.*. The two impvs. may well be retained, but should not be translated, *sigh in silence.* For דם 𝔗 has שתוק, Σ σιγῶν, 𝔍 *tacens.* Both 𝔊 and 𝔖 pointed the consonants as a noun and read דָּם *blood.*

59.—Is. 23 2^a דמו ישבי אי may be translated *wail ye inhabitants of the coast.* For דמו 𝔗 has אתברו, 𝔖 ܐܬܒܪܘ, Ἀ σιωπήσατε, Σ σιγήσατε, 𝔍 *tacete;* 𝔊 pointed דָּמוּ and rendered ὅμοιοι γεγόνασιν. Modern commentators translate דמו either *be dumb* (Orelli, Drechsler), or *be horror struck* (Delitzsch, Dillmann, and others). Duhm emends and reads תַּמּוּ, cf. above, § 35. Cheyne (SBOT) proposes נדמו and is followed by Marti. The context clearly makes the translation *be silent* impossible. דמו must be a synonym of הילילו, and a form of דמם, *to mutter, lament*, would be just what one might expect.

60.—The beginning of the triplet Lam. 2 10 reads:

יָשְׁבוּ לָאָרֶץ יִדְּמוּ זקני בת־ציון׃
There sat on the ground mourning
maid Zion's elders.

For לארץ cf. Haupt, *Micah*, p. 77 (AJSL 26, 213). 𝔗 renders ידמו by שתקין, 𝔊 ἐσιώπησαν, 𝔖 ܐܬܫܬܘ, 𝔍 *conticuerunt.* Modern commentators follow the Versions; so Löhr, Budde, and others. However, Nowack, *Archäologie*, I, 195, remarks that Orientals do not know silent grief, but the sensations of joy as well as those of grief reveal themselves in loud utterance. It seems therefore better to translate ידמו *they moan, lament.*

61.—וידם of Lam. 3 28 and דומם of 3 26 should be transposed, so as to read:

טֹוב ויֹחִיל ויֹדֹם לתשוּעת יהוָה׃
It is good to wait and stay
for JHVH's help;
ישֵׁב בדֶד ודומֵם כי־נטֵל עלֵיו׃
Let him sit alone and moaning
when it is laid upon him.

For וידם 𝔊 has σιωπήσεται, 𝔖 ܘܢܫܬܘܩ, 𝔍 *tacebit*. Löhr, Budde, Volck and Oettli follow the Versions. But וידם is here best considered impf. Q. of דום *to stay*, a synonym of יחל. For יָחִיל of RT Budde reads יְיַחֲלוּ, but this is not necessary. For the construction of v. 26ᵃ cf. GK, § 107, q. The translation of AV, *It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord*, is correct, especially if we omit *both* and *quietly*. דומם, v. 28, is rendered by 𝔊 ἡσυχάσει, 𝔗 למשתוק, 𝔍 *cum silentio*; 𝔖 alone has ܒܩܘܫܬܐ, *truly, verily*. Löhr translates דּוּמָם by *quietly*, Budde by *silent*. But the consonants may better be pointed as part. Q. of דמם, *to mutter, sigh*, which would suit the context perfectly. In v. 28 נטל may be taken impersonally, the subject implied being הַנֹּטֵל, cf. *Lev.* (SBOT), p. 29, l. 15; Haupt, *Micah*, p. 25, n. 18.

62.—דּוּמָם, as the Masoretes pointed it, occurs again in Is. 47 5. Babylon, whom a great calamity had befallen, is addressed and exhorted שבי דמום בחשך, *sit thou moaning in darkness*. The form דּוּמָם being a rather doubtful one, it seems preferable to read the inf. abs. Q. of דמם, *to moan*. The change is very slight. For this construction (*adv. acc.*) cf. GK, § 113, h, z (end). Marti and others retain דּוּמָם, translating it by *silent*, following 𝔗 שתקא, and 𝔍 *tacens*. 𝔊 has κατανενυγμένη, and 𝔖 ܒܬܘܪܐ, *in confusion*.

63.—דמה, byform of דמם, *to mutter* (cf. above דמה = דום) occurs but once, Jer. 47 5ᵃ:

בְּאה קרחֶה על־עזֶּה נדמתֶה אשדֹוד׃
Has brought upon Gaza baldness,
Ashdod wails.

על with 𝔊 ἐπί. 𝔗𝔖 translate נדמתה by איתברו and ܐܬܬܒܪܬ, respectively, while 𝔍 has *conticuit*. 𝔊 seems to have read נרמתה = ἀπεῤῥίφη. Modern commentators follow 𝔗𝔖

is destroyed; so Duhm, Giesebrecht, and others. But נדמתה is used in connection with expressions referring to mourning, cf. דמם, Lam. 2 10, above, § 60, and therefore the translation *is destroyed* seems untenable. The Nif. might be retained, but the Q. deserves preference. For the reading אשדוד see Kautzsch, *D. Heil. Schr. d. A. T.*

64.—From the stem דמה = דמם, *to mutter*, should be derived the noun דְּמִי, *whisper*, Is. 62 6:

המזכירים את־יהוה אל־דְּמִי לכם:
Ye who are reminders of JHVH
no whisper for you.

The *reminders* of JHVH are angels who remind Him of His promises. They are not *to whisper*, but *to cry aloud*. In the late gloss at the beginning of v. 7 דְּמִי may be used in the sense of *rest*, and should, perhaps, be regarded as a derivative of דום = דמה, *to stay*.

65.—In RT דְּמִי is found again in Ps. 82 2, but the Versions show that a verbal form should be read in place of the noun, see above, § 20.

66.—In Is. 38 10 דְּמִי means *half*, cf. 𝔍 *in dimidio*, 𝔖 ܦܠܓ, and should be derived from דמה, *to be like;* cf. Assyr. *mišlu*, from משל, *to be like;* see GB[15] s. v. דום and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.*[5], p. 169.

67.—To summarize briefly, the following seems to be the development of meaning of דום and דמה, *to stay*, and of דמם and דמה, *to mutter*:

דום—Qal, (1) *to stay, halt, remain*, Jos 10 12. 13; 1 Sam. 2 9. 14 9; Jer. 8 14. 47 6; Job 31 33.—(2) *to remain immoveable, be rigid*, Hab. 2 19.—(3) *to wait*, Ps. 37 7. 62 6. 83 2; Job 29 21; Lam. 3 28.—(4) *to stop, cease*, Ps. 35 15; Job 30 27; Lam. 2 18.—(5) *to come to an end, to perish*, Jer. 25 37; Ps. 31 18. 49 13. 21.—Po'lel, *to cause to stay, to check*, Ps. 131 2.—Hif'îl *to cause to stay, cease, perish*, Jer. 8 14.—Nif'al, (1) *to cause to remain, be rigid, be dumbfounded*, Ex. 15 16; Lev. 10 3.—(2) *to be caused to cease, to be ended, destroyed*, Jer. 48 2. 49 26. 50 30. 51 6; Hos. 4 6. (29)

דמה (= דום)—Qal, *to stay, stop, cease,* Jer. 14 17; Lam. 3 49. Pi'el, *to cause to cease, to end, destroy,* Hos. 4 5.—Nif'al, *to be caused to cease, to be ended* or *destroyed,* Is. 15 1; Hos 10 7. 15; Zeph. 1 11; Ob. 5. (8)

דמם—Qal, *to mutter,* Ps. 4 5; *to mumble,* Ps. 30 13; *to sigh,* Am. 5 13; *to moan,* Is. 23 2. 47 5; Ez. 24 17; Lam. 2 10. 3 28 (8).

דמה (= דמם)—Qal, *to mutter, moan,* Jer. 47 5.

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"Higher" Archaeology and the Verdict of Criticism

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BIBLICAL archaeologists are divided into two classes, those who are advocates of some special theory, and those who are ready to follow the evidence whithersoever it may lead. The present paper deals only with the work of the conservative members of the first of these classes.

An American scholar[1] in a book recently published has done me the honor to invite me in his preface to criticise his work. If I take this book of my friend as an example of the inadequacy of the methods of this reactionary school of "higher" archaeology, it is because the interests of truth demand a discussion of the misleading claims of this and similar books. The invitation is accepted, accordingly, in the spirit in which it was given.

Professor Kyle has made an earnest effort to appreciate the fact that different points of view are possible, and to express himself with that consideration which becomes a scholar who is conscious that he himself sees facts through the medium of his own presuppositions. This effort has enabled him to produce a work written in excellent spirit, but has not preserved him from the pitfalls which inevitably beset his class. Too high praise cannot, however, be given him for the elevated spirit of his work, a quality too often painfully lacking in books of this kind.

There are certain fallacies of assumption which underly his methods, as they do those of many writers of this school. It is

[1] M. G. Kyle, *The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism*, Oberlin, Ohio, 1912.

assumed that if it can be proved that a thing may have happened, it is thereby proved that it did happen. Considerable space is expended to show that the world of the time of Abraham was a civilized world, and that it was easy and natural for Abraham and Jacob to go to Egypt, when it was ruled by Hyksos kings, who are thought to be Semitic. This is knowledge which we had before, and which no one has a disposition to deny; but if archaeology is to have any deciding voice between the theories of critics and those of the traditionalists, evidence must be forthcoming concerning this particular Abraham and this particular Jacob. As yet there is no such evidence, and such as there is, as will be indicated below, points in a different direction.

Again Professor Kyle is at considerable pains to show that the age of Abraham and Moses was a literary period, when such a work as the Pentateuch might well have been written, and he seems to think that such evidence is of prime importance in deciding the question. In reality such evidence has nothing to do with the question, *unless the internal evidence of the Pentateuch fits the age which is so constructed.* With this question the book nowhere comes into close quarters. There are a few dogmatic assertions, but the vital questions are never touched. To prove that writing was known in the time of Moses and the Patriarchs does not prove that they could write. Probably there were never so many schools in Palestine, thanks to missionary effort, as there are today, and yet it would be precarious to argue that the Bedu chiefs who wander into the country can write. All who know the land would hold the presumption to be that they cannot. Again, if it were archaeologically proven that Moses could write, that would not prove that he wrote the Pentateuch. Many of us who can write never produced a Pentateuch and never will. The decisive point is: *does the Pentateuch we have furnish internal marks that it came from the age of Moses?* External evidence can pronounce no decisive verdict apart from internal evidence.

In treating of this matter of writing Professor Kyle falls into an error, which illustrates how insecure many of his archaeological conclusions are. At Telloh some clay labels from the time of

Naram-Sin, Shargani-sharri, and Bingani-sharri were found. Heuzey first published them in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1897, and afterwards in Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 280—288. Just after their first publication, Sayce in his *Archaeology and Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 143, made one of his brilliant, but unfounded generalizations. His words are: "There was an excellent postal service connecting Canaan with Babylonia, which went back to the days of Naram-Sin, and some of the clay *bullae* which served as stamps for the official correspondence at that period are now in the Museum of the Louvre." Professor Kyle in his book, p. 84ff., enlarges upon this, saying that the sending of a few government dispatches would not necessitate a postal system, that it is only some four centuries since the demands of the modern world called the Post Office into existence, and implying that the people of Babylonia were much further advanced than those of Mediaeval Europe in the matter of general letter writing.

In reality this whole conception is a creation of the imagination. The Babylonians had no general post office, and these *bullae* were not postage stamps. We know that the Babylonians did sometimes write letters, but they addressed them on a clay envelope and not on a ball tied to the letter. If the letter was that of a private person, it was sent by a private messenger. These *bullae* were labels or baggage tags, which were attached to packages of one sort or another. Several of them which were attached to packages of provisions sent by Barnamtarra, the wife of Lugalanda as gifts for certain feasts, are now known.[2] Another which was apparently attached to a package of wool sent from a royal flock to a king of Ur has recently been published.[3] Many such clay labels are now known. They were attached to packages of flour,[4] to sheep,[5] cattle, and to all sorts of merchandise which might be shipped on the canals of Babylonia.

[2] See Allotte de la Fuye, *Documents présargoniques*, 11—30, 79, 80.

[3] *AJSL*, XXIX, 137 and plate.

[4] See Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, II, p. 9ff.

[5] See Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 414—416.

In the time of the dynasty of Ur there was a regular system of government messengers, who were provisioned by the temples. About 170 of the monthly accounts of these supplies are known to the writer, of which he has himself edited about seventy. These tablets show that messengers, tax collectors, and soldiers travelled about in accordance with a regular system. They were not always engaged in postal service. One text states of a messenger: "for the skin of the wild ox he went," [6] while it is said of another that he went for a certain kind of fish.[7] There is no evidence that a postal system for private correspondence existed in ancient Babylonia any more than in ancient Persia. Darius I established a system which is described by Herodotus [8] and Xenophon,[9] and which gave to our New Testament the Persian word ἀγγαρεύω, "to compel to go" (Mt. 5 41), but this was a postal system for government use only, and in no sense for private correspondence. The ancient world was unacquainted with the modern Post Office, and all inferences based on the opposite supposition are of no value whatever. The "higher" archaeologists of the traditional type, like other writers of the traditional school, have a tendency to seize upon side remarks of critics, upon which nothing has ever depended, and to think the whole critical structure falls if they can disprove such remarks. My archaeological friend makes this error with reference to the antiquity of writing.

Like all similar writers Professor Kyle has much to say of Genesis 14. He tries to refute the statement of Driver that the discoveries of Archaeology have never touched the core of Nöldeke's criticisms of that chapter. He has to admit that the kind of evidence which Driver says would be necessary to overthrow Nöldeke's view, is not forthcoming, but endeavors (p. 202ff.) to state such evidence as we have. He admits that the name of Chedorlaomar has not been found, but beyond this misstates most of the evidence, calling Amraphel "the great Elamite lawgiver!" Such evidence as we have will be treated below, where it will be seen to have quite other bearings than those claimed for it.

[6] *AJSL*, XXIX, p. 127, No. 1, rev. 13.
[7] Cf. Barton, *op. cit.* III. Pl. 110, No. 233, 12.
[8] Herodotus, VIII, 98. [9] Cyropedaea, VIII, 6, 17.

Professor Kyle tells us on p. 52 that the statement of Gen. 10 8, "Cush begat Nimrod," is confirmed by the fact, recognized by all scholars, that there was in Babylonia a non-Semitic people which they call Sumerian. A few lines later another reference to "Cush" from Gen. 10 6 is taken to refer to Hamites, and the reader is left to infer, what Gen. 10 really assumes, that the two Cushes were one and the same and that Assyria was founded by Hamites. Kyle, then, claims by implication that the Sumerians were Hamites. He says, "archaeology confirms the statement, that Assyrian civilization, so distinctly Semitic, is said to have come out of the non-Semitic civilization of Babylonia." If the Bible is here vindicated, as claimed, the writer must believe the Sumerians to be Hamites. With reference to this remarkable claim three things should be said: 1. The implication that the Sumerians were Hamitic is diametrically opposed by the evidence. Professor Kyle, as an Egyptologist, should know that the Hamitic languages are a well defined group, consisting of Egyptian and Coptic, the languages of the Berbers and of the tribes of Somaliland. Their characteristics are well defined, and are well known. The characteristics of Sumerian are also well known and exclude definitely and forever the idea that the Sumerians were related to the Hamitic race. 2. The archaeological evidence clearly shows that Babylonia was not non-Semitic, but that a non-Semitic people settled there after the Semites entered it. This view, for which the writer argued in 1901 from the character of the mythology,[10] has since been strikingly confirmed by Eduard Meyer from the side of the art.[11] The gods of the beardless Sumerians wore Semitic beards!—a striking evidence that the Sumerians had taken over Semitic gods which were there before them. It cannot truthfully be said, therefore, that the Assyrian civilization came entirely out of a non-Semitic civilization. 3. Archaeological evidence supplies the clue to the statement of the compiler of Genesis, and shows us where he went astray. His "Cush" of verse 6 is the Egyptian *Kesh*, the name of Nubia. His "Cush" of verse 8 is the Babylonian *Kash*,

[10] *Semitic Origins* ch. V.

[11] *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, Berlin 1906. See Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, passim.*

the name of the Cassites, who conquered Babylon about 1750 B.C., and founded a dynasty which lasted for 576 years. The Biblical compiler, finding these in the J and P documents, respectively, had not the historical knowledge, to distinguish either these from the older Sumerian civilization, or each from the other. The archaeological evidence, so far from confirming his statement, reveals the striking limitations of his knowledge. We now know his sources, and we know how inadequate was his ability to use them, and how erroneous his statement. To recognize this frankly is by no means to condemn his work as of no religious value. To suppose that inspiration implies infallible knowledge is a figment of the imagination of theologians, the baneful influence of which in modern religion it would be hard to overestimate.

The book under discussion attempts two positive arguments for the refutation of critical views, which deserve a moment's attention: its argument from Egyptian words, and its argument from the high place at Gezer. The author cites as evidence (p. 164) of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch a number of Egyptian words. Several of these words are, however, inappropriate to the argument, for, as he admits, they are used in Job, which most scholars now regard as post exilic. A good deal is made in the book of the Egyptian name Asenath, which occurs from the 18th dynasty on, but my friend has little to say of Potiphar and Zaphenathpaneah, which belong to a type found mainly in the 22nd dynasty and later. Asenath may of course have been used at any time after it was introduced, whether in the 9th century or the 13th. The name on which most is staked is, however, the name Rameses, applied to a part of Egypt in Gen. 47 11 and to a city in Ex. 12 37, Nu. 33 3, 5. Kyle claims that the region was not called by this name before the time of Moses, and was not so called afterward, so that we have here a decisive indication that these passages could have been written only in the time of Moses. Professor Kyle has in this argument failed to apply a knowledge of the East, of which it is difficult to suppose him ignorant. Names once employed there are blotted from popular usage with the greatest difficulty, and one cannot safely say from the non-mention of a

name in literary sources that it has gone out of use. The conservative peasant may still employ it. Bethshean was called Scythopolis for some centuries, but its old name never died out; it still lives in Beisan. The same is true of many another name. Moreover one can never predict what name will survive and what will not. The St. Giles of the Crusaders still survives in the Palestinian place name, Singil. All that this name Rameses in the Pentateuch shows is that the documents which contain it could not have been written earlier than the time of Rameses II. It has no bearing whatever upon a later date.

In treating of the high place at Gezer, my friend endeavors to show (pp. 118ff. and 259), that there is no ground for the claim that the discoveries at Gezer sustain the statement of the J document (Josh. 16 10, Jud. 1 29) and prove the unhistorical character of the statement of the P document (Josh. 21 21), that Joshua gave Gezer to the Kohathites as a Levitical city. To establish his contention Professor Kyle quotes Macalister to the effect that just at the time when the Hebrew conquest occurred a new influx of population came into Gezer, which so crowded the city that the area of the high place was encroached upon by dwelling houses. Kyle says: "This encroachment upon the sacred place, as well as the rapid decline of some of the horrible heathen rites of human sacrifice together with the introduction of milder and more spiritual Jewish ideas, certainly does seem to point toward a rather radical change in religious ideas . . . . . That the book [Joshua] as it stands should be thus vindicated by archaeological evidence goes far toward vindicating the unity and trustworthiness of the book. It would seem a most remarkable coincidence, to say the least, if the critical analysis of Joshua be correct, that a document so independent of the archaeological evidence as the 'P document' is claimed to be should have been combined with other material in such fashion that the book thus formed would be exactly in harmony with the archaeological remains to be preserved for millenniums and dug up in these latter days!" With reference to this argument (which is the strongest point against criticism that Kyle makes in his book) three things should be noted:— 1. The archaeological evidence is not correctly reported. 2. It

is not interpreted in accordance with ancient analogies. 3. Even if the facts and interpretation were such as my friend represents them, they do not vindicate or harmonize the contradictory statements of Josh. 16 10 and Josh. 21 21.

1. The archaeological evidence does not show that there was any radical change in religious ideas with the incoming of the Hebrews. Human sacrifice continued all through the Hebrew period at Gezer, and did not become even sporadic until the Hellenistic period.[12] The introduction of "the beautiful symbolism of the bowl and lamp deposits" in place of human sacrifices, was due in no degree to the coming of the Hebrews; it began in the second Semitic stratum, was common in the third, while the Hebrews belong to the fourth.[13] It triumphed in the end only because all Semitic people were becoming so civilized that human sacrifice was revolting to them. To regard the encroachment upon the high place as due in any measure to Jewish ideas, is a misinterpretation of the evidence, for it involves the notion that the high place lost something of its sacredness in the eyes of the people. This was not the case. Macalister definitely says: — "The sanctuary did not thereby lose its holiness."[14]

2. There are ancient Semitic analogies which explain this encroachment upon the high place, and the facts must be interpreted in accordance with them. When an alien or a group of aliens came into a new community, it was necessary, if they would be at peace with the natives, or have any standing at all in the new community, to put themselves under the protection of the deity of the place. Such persons attached themselves to the sanctuary, and were known as גֵּרִים. A Phoenician inscription from Kition in Cyprus (*CIS*, I, 86) shows that such *gerîm* received portions from the temple revenues on festal days just as the regular attachés of the temple did. This was a custom which the Hebrews shared with their Semitic kindred in general.[15] There is, then, one and only one correct interpretation to be

12 Macalister. *The Excavation of Gezer*, 1912, II. 431.
13 Macalister, *ibid.* 434.
14 Macalister, *ibid.* 406.
15 W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*, 76ff.; also Ps. 5 4, 15 1, 61 4.

placed upon the facts at Gezer. Whether the people who crowded into Gezer and encroached upon the high place were Hebrews or not, they placed themselves under the protection of the deities of the sanctuary, and were permitted to build houses on the sacred precincts because they as *gerîm* had become in a sense sacred to the goddess. It is only thus that such encroachment can be reconciled with the undiminished holiness of the high place. That the high place lost none of its old time sanctity until the days of the Babylonian exile, can never be doubted by one who was present, as the writer was, while its excavation was going on, and saw the multitude of primitive religious symbols employed during all the Semitic periods, not excepting the Hebrew. If there were one element needed in the excavation of Gezer to show that the monotheistic and moral ideas of the P document were not influential at the time of the Hebrew conquest, it would be just this encroachment upon the high place without diminution of the holiness of the sanctuary in popular regard.

3. Even if Professor Kyle had correctly understood the archaeological evidence, his conclusion would not follow. Joshua 21 21 demands more than a mild and gradual exertion of Jewish moral ideas. It presupposes the extinction of Canaanitish institutions and the planting in their stead of Levitical institutions. Archaeology offers no evidence that such a change occurred at Gezer before the Maccabaean period. The J and P parts of the narrative are directly opposed to each other here. How the evidence, even as my friend presents it, can show that a thing both did and did not occur, the reader finds it hard to understand.

This last point illustrates the fact that all those who seek by means of archaeology to overthrow criticism are following an *ignis fatuus*. The most decisive criteria in favor of the critical theory are the contradictions in the codes, and the fact that the history shows that the codes came into actual effect as moulding forces in the life of the people at widely different periods in their career. These results archaeology cannot touch until it can show how it can possibly be right to build a multiplicity of altars (Ex. 20 24-26), and yet wrong to build more than

one (Dt. 12); how it can be right to make a Hebrew a slave for six years (Ex. 21 2-6, Dt. 15 12-18), but wrong to make a Hebrew a slave at all (Lev. 25 39-46); how it is more divine for the laws to be revealed to Moses in the tangled and contradictory form in which they lie in our Pentateuch nearly a millennium before some of them were effective, than for God to guide prophets, priests, and sages, to meet the crises of the life of an advancing nation with new and appropriate legislation. Not until archaeology can accomplish this impossible task can it have any "deciding voice" in Old Testament criticism.

The book of my friend claims that it is in conservative seminaries only that scholars are found who take into account *all* the facts. Whether that is or is not true, the reader of his book and of this article must judge. Kyle also makes much of the fact that critics do not often cite archaeological evidence in support of their views, claiming that there is no such evidence.

With reference to this last claim it should be said, that archaeological evidence in favor of critical views exists, and, if it is not cited, it is because critics have a keener sense of what is relevant and decisive than the archaeological advocates of tradition have. That such evidence exists, the following five instances will prove. They are by no means the only ones that could be cited, but are chosen because they lie within easy reach of the writer.

1. The critics claim that there are two accounts of the creation in Genesis, one in Gen. 1 1—2 4a, the other in Gen. 2 4bff. The first of these accounts assumes as a primeval chaos a mass of waters, tells how these were divided by a firmament, and makes the periods of creation seven in number. The second assumes the existence of the earth, and goes on to explain the creation of man, animals and the beginnings of civilization. Among the religious texts of Babylonia two similar accounts of the creation have been found; one begins with a primeval chaos of water, which is divided by a firmament for the creation of heaven and earth, and makes the epochs of creation seven;[16] the other begins by assuming the earth, and goes on to tell of

[16] Among the many translations, see that of Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 1912, pp. 3—44.

the creation of living things and of the rise of civilization.[17] These Babylonian and Biblical accounts differ in their religious aspects, but the existence of the Babylonian myths, and their agreement with the Biblical accounts in the points mentioned, is a striking confirmation of the critical view. I am far from saying that it is decisive; I am only saying that in so far as it goes it is confirmatory. I am sure that if our archaeological advocates had a point nearly as strong, they would never be weary of ringing the changes upon it.

2. Another point in which archaeology confirms criticism is the instance of the 14th chapter of Genesis. In spite of all that has been written to the contrary, the kings who are said to have fought with Abraham, have not been brought to light by archaeology in a way to confirm that chapter. The facts are as follows:

Hammurapi, the great Babylonian lawgiver, one of the most important of all the Babylonian kings, reigned from 2123 to 2081 B.C., and claimed sovereignty of MAR-TU, or the West-land, probably Syria and Palestine. Many scholars have held that Hammurapi was the same as Amraphel of Gen. 14 1. The names would exactly correspond were it not for the *l* at the end of Amraphel. By no known philological equivalence does that letter belong there, and if Hammurapi is intended by Amraphel, Gen. 14 must have been written so late that the name had become corrupted in a way similar to the corruption from which good Hebrew names have suffered in the angelic lists of the Ethiopic Enoch.[18]

Arioch, king of Elassar (Gen. 14 1), has been identified with Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, a contemporary to Hammurapi in the latter part of his reign. But the fact is the name of Rim-Sin could not even in Sumerian possibly be read Ari-aku. That of his brother, Arad-Sin, might be so read, but there is nothing to lead us to suppose that it was, and there is no evidence that either Arad-Sin or Rim-Sin were ever in friendly alliance with Hammurapi.[19]

[17] See Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 47—50.

[18] See the writer's article, "Origin of the names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D" in this JOURNAL, XXXI, 156ff.

[19] Cf. this JOURNAL, XXVIII, 158ff.

Again, much has been made of the fact that Kudur-Mabug, the father of Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, who was the AD-DA or ruler of Emutbal, a district of western Elam, calls himself AD-DA of MAR-TU,[20] which has been supposed to be Palestine. MAR-TU, however, simply meant the place of sunset, and probably in this inscription refers to the western part of Elam.[21] There is really nothing whatever to connect Kudur-Mabug with Palestine at all. And even if there were, his name is not Chedorlaomer, so that again the inscription would be evidence of the lack of information on the part of the Biblical writer.

Much has been made by Professors Sayce[22] and Hommel of four documents published by Pinches in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, XXIX, 82ff., which, according to Sayce and Pinches, contain the names of Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal, the three kings, who in Gen. 14 1 are associated with Amraphel. The documents are written in Semitic and are from the Persian period, not earlier than the fourth century B.C. In reality neither the names Chedorlaomer nor Arioch appear in the text. The name read Kudurlakhmal is really *Ku-ku-ku-mal* or *Ku-dur-ku-mal*. The other reading is only obtained by giving to the sign KU in its third occurrence a value, *lakh*, altogether unattested by the cuneiform literature. The name read Eri-eaku and identified with Arioch is spelled in two ways. If read as Sumerian, it might be Eri-eaku. The text in which it occurs is, however, Semitic, and it is probable that the name is to be read here in Semitic fashion. So read it becomes Arad-malkua, or Arad-malaku. Tudkhula, the supposed Tidal, is not called in the document a king at all. To identify him with "Tidal, king of the nations," is a purely fanciful procedure.

It should be noted that in the documents which record these names Arad-malaku, the supposed Eri-aku, takes no part in the wars described; it is his son, Dursil-ilâni (who, by the way, has a good Semitic name) who is represented as the contemporary

20 "Cuneiform Texts," XXI, 33.

21 See Price, *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, V, 167ff.

22 Cf. PSBA. XXVIII, 203—218, 241—251; XXIX, 7—17. Cf. also King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, I, p. 11ff.

of Kukukumal, the supposed Chedorlaomer. It should be further noted, that these documents represent a complete conquest of Babylon by Elam—a conquest so complete that:

> "In their faithful counsel unto Kukukumal, king of Elam,
> They [the gods] established the fixed advance, which to them seemed good.
> In Babylon, the city of the gods, Marduk set his [Kukukumal's] throne,
> All, even the Sodomites of the plundered temples, obeyed him.
> Ravens build their nests; birds dwell [therein];
> The ravens croak (?), shrieking they hatch their young [in it].
> To the dog crunching the bone the Lady ..... is favorable.
> The snake hisses, the evil one spits poison."

This quotation from the second of the documents published by Pinches describes a complete subjugation and desolation of Babylon by Kukukumal, king of Elam. This definitely excludes the possibility that Kukukumal could have acted in harmony with Hammurapi, as Chedorlaomar is said to have done. Indeed, it shows that he was not a contemporary of Hammurapi at all, for during his powerful reign there was no such conquest of Babylon by Elam. There were many conquests of Babylonia by the Elamites, and this must refer to some other period. In the documents themselves there is evidence that another period is intended, for Babylon is called by its Cassite name, Karduniash, a name that it did not bear until three or four hundred years after Hammurapi.

If the 14th chapter of Genesis was influenced at all by these documents, it is only another proof that the critics have been right, and that the chapter is not an authority as history. Indeed the history as reconstructed from the monuments shows Hammurapi in such sincere rivalry with the king of Larsa, that a joint invasion of Palestine by them, while not impossible, is most improbable.

3. The excavations at Gezer and at Taanach confirm the critical view of the late date of the D and P legislation and narratives. The D legislation (Dt. 12) prohibits all altars but one, and makes it a religious duty to break down the "pillars" of the high places. The P legislation (Lev. 17) takes the existence of but one altar for granted, while the P narrative

(Josh. 21 21, 25) makes Gezer and Taanach Levitical cities. The excavations at Gezer show not only that the "pillars" were never broken down there, but that the worship at the high place was not interrupted between the Hebrew conquest and the Babylonian exile. This evidence has been discussed above, and definitely excludes such interruption of the worship there as would surely have occurred, if the religious ideas embodied in either D or P had been introduced there. The evidence at Taanach as gathered by Sellin[23] is not so complete, but it shows the worship of Astarte as present there from the time of the Canaanites to the destruction of the northern kingdom. The archaeological evidence is so strong that, when the writer was on the ground, he was convinced by it alone that the account of the Levitical cities in Joshua must be a post-exilic writer's explanation of the fact that there were large families of priests connected with these cities, and that they possessed considerable estates there.[24] So far as the evidence has been recovered, no other conclusion seems justified. The archaeological evidence shows no trace of the existence of the Deuteronomic and Priestly institutions, but on the contrary seems definitely to exclude them.

4. Another point in which archaeology confirms the critical view may be found in the Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine in Egypt. One of these papyri[25] consists of a letter written by Hananiah (possibly a brother of Nehemiah) to the Jewish community at Elephantine in the year 419 B.C. Although the papyrus is but a fragment of the original letter, it is clear that its author is explaining to his brethren in detail the Levitical requirements for the observance of the Passover. He states the requirement as given by P in Lev. 23 and Ex. 12, that the feast shall be kept from the 14th of Nisan at sunset until the 21st of Nisan. The prohibitions against doing any work, and against leaven are also set forth. If these requirements

[23] See Sellin, *Tell-Ta'anek*, Vienna, 1904, Ch. XII, XIX, XX.

[24] See the writer's article "The Levitical Cities of Israel in the Light of the Excavation at Gezer," *Biblical World*, XXIV, 167—179.

[25] See Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, 1911, No. 6; cf. also Arnold, in *JBL.* XXXI, 1 ff.

of the priestly code had been set forth by Moses and had been in force for nearly a thousand years, it is inconceivable that it should have been necessary to inform the Jewish community in Egypt concerning them in this way. An American today might conceivably write to a company of American missionaries in China about a sane and safe Fourth of July, but at no time since the early days of the republic would it be necessary to write to a company of Americans abroad, "the Fourth of July is properly observed by setting off fire-crackers from dusk of the 3rd onward." Such detailed information in the letter of Hananiah is readily explicable, if the Levitical law had been introduced into Jerusalem some 25 years before, and the distant community on the Nile had never before had its details. Another of these papyri confirms the critical view of the date of Deuteronomy. It is a letter to Bagoses, the Persian governor,[26] which sets forth that the writers represent a community possessing a temple of Yahweh at Elephantine, which had existed there from the days of the native kings of Egypt, and which Cambyses found when he conquered Egypt, but which an official named Waidrang had now destroyed. The letter goes on to relate that the temple had been in ruins for three years, that formerly they had written to the high priest at Jerusalem to intercede in their behalf, but that nothing had come of it. They appeal in the letter under discussion to Bagoses directly, saying that they were also writing to the two sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria. A second papyrus[27] contains the rescript of Bagoses, which granted them permission to rebuild their temple. How did these Jews come to live at Elephantine, and how are these various facts to be explained? Scholars are pretty well agreed that these Jews were a part of a garrison, placed at Elephantine by Psammetik of Egypt, to protect his frontier against the Nubians. Opinion differs as to whether it was Psammetik I, 663—609 B.C., or Psammetik II, 593—588 B.C. Even if we assume that it was Psammetik II, at that time the struggle for the general observance of the Deuteronomic law, which had begun in 621, had not yet reached a successful issue. Not all

[26] Sachau, *op. cit.*, No. 1.
[27] Sachau, *op. cit.*, No. 3.

Jews believed in Deuteronomy, so these Jews built themselves in Egypt a temple to Yahweh. By the year 410, however, when Waidrang destroyed the temple at Elephantine, the Levitical law had been in force for more than thirty years. Naturally, therefore, the high priest at Jerusalem ignored the request of his Egyptian brethren. It was not until they appealed to the schismatic Samaritans, that they obtained influence enough on the part of influential Hebrews, who stood near the governor, to secure the granting of their request. If the critical view is true, the facts are explicable, otherwise they are not.

5. Another point in which the discoveries of archaeology strikingly confirm the results of criticism has to do with the book of Daniel. Critics with great unanimity date Daniel 168—165 B.C., and regard it, not as history, but as an apocalypse, some of the historical statements of which are not in accordance with facts. We now have business documents from the whole period from which the book of Daniel is supposed by tradition to come,[28] and we have some historical inscriptions also.[29] The business documents are dated in practically every year of every king of the period. We know from this evidence, not only that Belshazzar was never king, as he is said to have been in Daniel 5, but that he was not a son of Nebuchadnezzar. We also know that there was no such king as Darius the Mede, who is said to have come in between Belshazzar and Cyrus. Every year is full, and there is no room for him. Archaeology here unequivocally casts its influence on the side of criticism.

These instances are cited, not because the critical views need the support of such arguments, but simply in the interest of truth. Those who assert that the evidence of archaeology is always on the side of traditional views clearly do not have adequate knowledge of the subject of which they presume to be authoritative exponents.

In conclusion the fact should be noted that it is not the function of archaeology to deal with criticism at all, and it is but rarely that an archaeological fact has any vital bearing upon a critical theory. Any attempt to reconstruct ancient

[28] See the various Hefte of Strassmaier's *Babylonische Texte.*

[29] See *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III^2, 120—137.

history must take into account both the facts of archaeology and of criticism, if the reconstruction is to have any hope of accurately representing the facts of ancient life. Both external and internal evidence must be taken into account. Archaeological objects and ancient documents must both be put upon the witness stand. One must crossquestion them both, and not blindly accept the first impressions given by either one. It is as necessary to criticise the archaeological data, i. e., to seek to understand them from every point of view, as it is to criticise documents, i. e. really to understand them.

In this work, it is well that we have an army of eager minds, each anxious to discover the mistakes of all the others, for only so can we hope to reach secure results. The ablest scholar may unaccountably trip at any moment. Wellhausen affords an example of this. No investigator is more able; three different fields of inquiry, Arabian history, the Old Testament, and the New Testament, have been enriched by him. Nevertheless, when in his *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 56 (ed. 1), he says of Mk. 11 23, that the saying about removing this mountain and casting it into the sea cannot have been spoken on Olivet near Jerusalem, because no sea is visible there, but must have been uttered near the Sea of Galilee, he reveals the fact that he has never been in Jerusalem. Had he ever stood upon the Mount of Olives, or upon any high building in Jerusalem itself, and looked at the Dead Sea, which one, as he looks, naturally thinks he can reach by a short walk, the remark never would have been made.

So far from discrediting Wellhausen's work, this instance only shows in the case of a most illustrious scholar, how difficult it is to take everything into account.

No critic can be fully equipped who does not know the external facts which are relevant. No Biblical archaeologist is fully equipped who has not first-hand knowledge of the critical facts. When the critic takes into account all the facts of external evidence, and the archaeologist takes into account all the facts of internal evidence, it will not make much difference whether a man calls himself a critic or an archaeologist, provided he has adequate learning and a trained judgment.

The Apocalypse of Ezra

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AMONG the numerous examples of Apocalyptic,[1] that have come down to us, the Fourth Book of Ezra is one of the most interesting documents of its kind. In its present form, it consists of a nucleus of Jewish origin, (chapters iii-xiv) with Christian additions (chapters i-ii, and xv-xvi). The Jewish portion, or "Apocalypse of Ezra," as it may be called, is notable for the fact that its teaching is much more nearly akin to Christian than to Jewish thought,—especially in its view of man, his state of sin, and need of redemption.[2] As such, it must have come from the pen of a liberal Hebrew, who lived at a time of great distress, and who found himself passing through the experiences which, in the case of Paul, led to the latter's conversion to Christianity. As devoted as any of his race had ever been to the traditional ideal of the pre-eminence of Israel,[3] and unable to reconcile this ideal with the new and growing ideal of the pre-eminence of the moral man, he had been led,

[1] Apocalyptic was in its aim and purpose, homiletic and practical, rather than scientific,—to find evidence, in the logic of events, of a world, created but to reveal God's moral government, with Israel the human partner of the Divine. In its incidence, it was synchronous with the apocalyptic moments of Hebrew history,—occasions when the Hebrew racial temperament was in strong reaction against depressing exterior influences,—in particular, acts of profanation of the Temple by Gentiles. Its view of history was distorted,—serious, not always unintentional falsifications of facts frequently occur.

[2] 3 21-2, 25-6, 4 30, 7 116-26, 139, 8 3, 26,—in particular 7 118,—"O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned the evil is fallen not on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee!" Cf. Rom. 5 12.

[3] 5 27: "Among all the multitudes of peoples, thou hast gotten thee one people."

in spite of himself, to seek relief for his perplexity in certain aspects of the new faith.[4] On the basis of its teaching, a late date should be assigned for the composition of the apocalypse, a conclusion which is warranted by additional internal evidence, consisting of allusions to events in Roman history, contained in the account of the famous Eagle-Vision.

According to this Vision, which takes up chapters 10 58 to 12 39, an Eagle, having twelve wings, eight winglets and three heads, is made to symbolise[5] the last of the four Gentile empires which are to hold Israel in captivity.[6] The apocalyptic moment is at some point in the period of domination of the empire by the powerful dynasty figured in the description of the three heads.[7] Scholars are agreed that under the similitude of the Eagle, covert allusion is made to Rome.[8] Hitherto, only Gutschmid,[9] and Le Hir,[10] both of whom place its composition in

[4] 9 13: "Inquire how the righteous shall be saved, they whose the world is, and for whom the world was created."

[5] 11 1: "There came up from the sea an eagle, which had twelve feathered wings and three heads . . . 3,—out of her wings there grew other wings over against them . . . 11,—and I numbered her little wings, . . . and behold, there were eight of them.

[6] 11 39: "Art not thou it that remainest of the four beasts whom I made to reign in my world that the end of my times might come through them?" (Cf. Dan. 2, 7-12.)

[7] 12 23-5. "In the last days thereof, shall the Most High raise up three kings, and renew many things therein, and they shall bear rule over the earth, and over those that dwell therein with much oppression, above all those that were before them, — therefore are they called the heads of the eagle."

[8] The Apocalypse of Ezra declares openly in favor of the "futurist" interpretation of the visions of Daniel. "The eagle, (i. e., Rome, — cf. 12 14-15,) "whom thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel" (12 11-12). This interpretation is found in the Apocalypse of Baruch, cc. 36. 37, and in the so-called Synoptic Apocalypse (Mark, 13 14-27), both of which reflect Jewish thought during the years following the fall of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. Josephus knew both the preterist and the futurist interpretations of the book of Daniel (to use modern terminology). See his Ant. x, 11 7.

[9] A. von Gutschmid, "Die Apokalypse des Esra und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen," *ZWT*, 1860, pp. 1-80.

[10] A. M. Le Hir, "Du IVe Livre d'Esdras," *Études bibliques*, i, pp. 184-92.

the year 218 A. D., have seen in the historical allusions made in the course of the Eagle vision evidence of a late date for the book. The common and accepted view, however, is in favor of an early date, and finds in the symbolism of the three heads of the eagle, witness to the fortunes of the house of Vespasian.[11] Thus Charles declares "the work was written toward the close of the first century."[12] Box, the latest authority on the subject,[13] following Kabisch,[14] assigns it to the year 120. Sanday, in his able review of Box's edition, takes exception to this date on the ground that "the Eagle-vision points to the reign of Domitian."[15] When we turn back to the sweeping statement of Schürer to the effect that "there can be no mistaking the fact that all that is said with regard to the three heads will apply admirably to the three Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian,"[16] we must admit that it is time to call for the testimony of the Roman historians.[17]

Now, according to the Apocalypse, it is stated concerning the great rulers symbolised by the heads, that the first to reign shall be a mighty conqueror, who shall put to death two rival aspirants for the throne, and after a reign of great severity, die on his bed in agony, to be succeeded by two lesser rulers, as joint heirs to the empire, one of whom shall slay the other with the sword, and reign alone, until his own death by violence.[18]

[11] The fact that Clement of Alexandria (Strom. iii, 16) cites a text of an Ezra-apocryph, (Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης λέγει) which corresponds to Apoc. Ezra, 5 35, already predetermines the choice of most scholars in favor of an early date.

[12] R. H. Charles, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xi ed., p. 108, s. v. "Ezra, Fourth Book of."

[13] G. H. Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. XXXIII.

[14] R. Kabisch, *Das Vierte Buch Esra*, p. 175.

[15] *International Journal of the Apocrypha*, xxx, 44.

[16] E. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. ii, vol. iii, p. 106.

[17] Their several statements are to be given precedence in the order of the credibility of the several authors as witnesses.

[18] 11 31-2: "The head . . . did eat up the two under wings that thought to have reigned. But this head held the whole earth in possession." 12 26-8: "And whereas thou sawest that the great head appeared no more, it signifieth that one of them shall die upon his bed, and yet with pain

This is no true picture of the Flavian times. Vespasian came to the throne on the murder of Vitellius, whom mob-violence subjected to cruel indignities.[19] He was a wise and able ruler, —even a hostile Semitic imagination could not make him a prototype of the great tyrant of the Apocalypse. He did not put to death two rivals,—his death was not lingering and painful, but sudden, due to excessive drinking of ice-water.[20] Titus and Domitian never shared the throne. Probably no one in Rome except Domitian himself ever thought that Vespasian would leave his two sons joint heirs to the empire.[21] As for Titus, he died not by the sword, nor indeed, except in town gossip, absurdly reflecting the unpopularity of Domitian, by any cause for which his brother was responsible. A malignant fever, with severe delirium at its inception, terminating in collapse, perhaps due to intestinal perforation, ended his life.[22]

. . . the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him, but he also shall fall by the sword in the last days."

[19] Suet., Vitell., 17.

[20] Suet., Vesp. 24: Hic cum super urgentem valetudinem creberrimo frigidae aquae usu etiam intestina vitiasset, nec eo minus muneribus imperatoriis ex consuetudine fungeretur, ut etiam legationes audiret cubans, alvo repente usque ad defectionem soluta, "imperatorem", ait. "stantem mori oportere", dumque consurgit ac nititur, inter manus sublevantium extinctus est.

[21] Domitian pretended that his father left him joint heir with Titus, but that Vespasian's will had been altered to defraud him of his inheritance,—"fraudem testamento adhibitam" (Suet., Dom. 2).

[22] Suet., Titus, 10: Sabinos petit aliquanto tristior . . . Deinde ad primam statim mansionem, febrim nanctus, cum inde lectica transferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis pallulis caelum, multumque conquestus, "eripi sibi vitam immerenti." This is a clear statement to the effect that the early stages of Titus' illness exhibited severe delirium. Elsewhere, Suetonius records a bit of town gossip to the effect that Domitian induced the nurses to desert Titus at the crisis of his illness: "correptum gravi valetudine, prius quam plane efflaret animam, pro mortuo deseri iussit" (Dom. 2).

Further romancing about Domitian was possible. Thus Dio Cassius brings against Domitian the charge that he plunged the moribund Titus into a coffin filled with snow,—*ἔμπνουν γάρ τοι αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ τάχα περιγενέσθαι δυνάμενον, ἐς λάρνακα χιόνος πολλῆς γέμουσαν ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐνέβαλεν, ἵνα θᾶσσον ἀποθάνῃ* (Dio Cass., lxvi, 26). Aurelius Victor decides in favor of poison as the means by which Domitian became his brother's murderer (De

The main objection to the Flavian theory is in the fact that it does not agree with history. Neither does it fit the statement of the Apocalypse. It is clear that, by the twelve wings of the Eagle are symbolised twelve emperors of Rome,—the first two being respectively Julius Caesar and Augustus.[23] Ten wings and eight winglets remain to be accounted for. If seven of the wings bring us down to the accession of Vespasian,[24] three wings and eight winglets remain unidentified.[25]

If a theory is to be worth anything at all, it must be one that follows the facts, instead of preceding them. The Flavian theory breaks down because it is made to precede the facts.

So far is the testimony of the historical allusions in the Eagle-vision from being in favor of an early date, so clear are the references in the symbolism of the three heads to the fortunes of the house of Septimius Severus, that, notwithstanding the stumbling-block of the famous Clementine citation,[26] it must be admitted that the Apocalypse of Ezra could not have reached its present form prior to the reign of Caracalla. Septimius Severus, symbolised as the great head of the Eagle,[27] was a man of blood and steel, a military despot who never lost a battle, and governed Rome with the iron hand of a Genghis

Caes., x: veneno interiit). The substratum of truth beneath these stories is that Titus's illness took an unfavorable turn at the crisis,—instead of recovery, sudden collapse, accompanied by a violent chill and speedy death, supervened.

[23] 12 14: "In the same shall twelve kings reign, one after another, whereof the second shall begin to reign, and shall have a longer time than any of the twelve." Augustus did "begin to reign," and was emperor for 41 years.

[24] Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius. As a matter of fact, however, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are not reckoned as emperors in the Johannine Apocalypse, nor are they by Clement, Eusebius, or Ptolemy.

[25] Schürer *l. c.*, p. 107, fills up the list by adding the names of Vindex, Nymphidius and Piso! A writer who knew enough to include Galba, Otho and Vitellius, would have known better than to include these pretenders,—even were he the most mendacious of apocalyptists in falsifying history, for the sake of his art. One would as soon think of reckoning Perkin Warbeck or Lambert Simnel among the kings of England.

[26] See note 11.

[27] 11 4: "The head in the midst was greater than the other heads."

Khan.[28] He literally waded in blood to the throne,—as the great head "did eat up the two under wings that thought to have reigned,"[29] he put to death, with barbarous indignities, his two rivals, Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albinus.[30] With a despot's conceit, he boasted openly of his exploits,—not without reason, perhaps seeing in himself the savior of the empire.[31] History records a sad end to his life. Long a sufferer from gout and neuritis, and perhaps conscious that an undutiful son wished for his death, Severus became despondent, and meditated suicide. Unable to obtain poison, he gorged himself with a hearty meal of heavy, rich food,—dying speedily, "upon his bed, and yet with pain," a victim of acute indigestion.[32] To his sons,

[28] Herein historian and apocalyptist agree: Ps.-Aur., Epit., xx, Septimius Severus: Fuit bellicosissimus omnium qui ante eum fuerunt; Aur. Vict., De Caes. xx, 14: Felix ac prudens armis praecipue, adeo ut nullo congressu nisi victor discesserit, auxeritque imperium, subacto Persarum rege nomine Abgaro; and Apoc. Ez., 11 32: "But this head held the whole earth in possession, and bare rule over those that dwell therein with much oppression, and it had the governance of the world more than all the wings that had been."

[29] 11 28-31.

[30] History and Apocalypse herein agree: Aur. Vict., xx, 9: Pescennium Nigrum apud Cyzicenos, Clodium Albinum Lugduni victos coegit mori; Spartianus, Niger, v, 8: Victus est, atque apud Cyzicum circa paludem fugiens sauciatus, et sic ad Severum adductus, atque statim mortuus; Julius Capitolinus, Albinus, ix, 3: Albinus fugit, et, ut multi dicunt, se ipse percussit, ut alii, servo suo percussus, semivivus ad Severum deductus est; and Apoc. Ez., 11 28-31: "And I beheld, and lo, the two that remained, thought also in themselves to reign, and while they so thought, behold there awaked one of the heads that were at rest, namely, it that was in the midst ... And ... the head ... did eat up the two under wings." The cruelty of Severus is attested by his mutilation of the corpses of his vanquished rivals,—Spart., Severus, ix, 1: conflixit cum Nigro, eumque apud Cyzicum interemit, caputque eius pilo circumtulit; xi, 6,—deinde Albini corpore adlato, paene seminecis caput abscidi iussit, Romamque deferri ... reliquum autem cadaver eius ante domum propriam exponi ac diu videri iussit. Equum praeterea ipse residens supra cadaver Albini egit, expavescentemque admonuit et effrenatum, ut audacter protereret.

[31] Spart., Severus, xxiii, 3: Turbatam rem publicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Brittannis relinquo, senex ac pedibus aeger firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, ac boni erunt, imbecillum, si mali (his last words).

[32] History and Apocalypse herein agree: Spart., Severus, xix: Perit Eboraci in Brittania, ... morbo gravissimo, ... iam senex; Ps.-Aur.

the Antonines, as he called them, Geta and Bassianus, nicknamed Caracalla, he left the empire, intending they should rule as co-regents. Thus he made the mistake Vespasian knew better than to make and disaster followed. Anyone who knew Caracalla could have foretold his act,—he slew his brother with the sword, and handed his own name down to history, as that of the most contemptible scoundrel that ever disgraced a throne, loathed in his day by the world that had respected, however much it had feared, his father.[33]

It appears, on comparison of the statements of the Apocalypse with the testimony of the Roman historians, that everything which is said with regard to the rulers symbolised by the three heads, will apply with the minutest accuracy to known events in the fortunes of the house of Severus. Furthermore, it is stated that two winglets shall precede the great head,—these are symbolic of the emperors, Pertinax and Didius Julianus,—of whom the former reigned eighty-six days, and the latter, "sooner away than the first," was murdered after sixty-six days of imperial power.[34] Thus we are able to identify completely

Epit., xx: Is dum membrorum omnium, maxime pedum, dolorem pati nequiret, veneni vice, quod ei negabatur, cibum gravis ac plurimae carnis avidius invasit, quem cum conficere non posset, cruditate pressus, expiravit; and Apoc. Ez., 12 26: "And whereas thou sawest that the great head appeared no more, it signifieth that one of them shall die upon his bed and yet with pain."

[33] Historian and Apocalyptist agree,—Spart., Caracalla, ii, 4: Conquestus est circumveniri se fratris insidiis, atque ita fratrem in Palatio fecit occidi; and id., Geta, ii, 8: Bassianus, cum eum occidisset, ac vereretur tyrannicam ex parricidio notam, audiretque posse mitigari facinus, si divum fratrem appellaret, dixisse fertur,—sit *divus*, dum non sit *vivus*. Apoc. Ez. 11 35: "And I beheld, and lo, the head upon the right side devoured it that was upon the left side;" 12 28: "For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him." Caracalla was half-brother to Geta, whom he murdered, and whose mother he forced to marry him. The brutally cynical terms in which he proclaimed the deification of Geta were quite in keeping with his despicable character. "Hic tamen omnium durissimus et, ut uno complectamur verbo,—parricida et incestus, patris, matris, fratris inimicus" (Spart., Caracalla, xi, 5).

[34] Historian and Apocalyptist agree: Julius Capit., Pertinax, xv, 6: Imperavit mensibus ii, diebus xxv. Spart., Didius, ix, 3: Imperavit mensibus duobus, diebus quinque (cf. also Ps.-Aur., Epit. xviii: Dio Cass.,

six wings, four winglets, and three heads.[35] The identity of the remaining figures will depend on what disposition it is possible to make of the problem relating to the literary structure of the Apocalypse.

That the work is composite is generally agreed,—the final redaction, according to the usual view, being set in the period 96—120 A. D. Gutschmid and Le Hir, who draw their conclusions from the Eagle vision, dissent in favor of the year 218. The former, in the opinion of critics, absurdly, proclaims that the vision is an interpolation;[36] the latter ascribes the work to a Christian, who drew in part from older sources.[37] From both these views, the writer of the present essay, who deals only with facts, and has no theories, ventures to dissent. Mere interpolation is out of the question. Nor is the Apocalypse of Ezra the work of a Christian, — the writer is a Jew, solicitous for the fate of Israel, but forced to find place in his thought, quite against his own will, for the rising doctrine of election on a purely ethical basis.

A clew to the literary structure and date is obtainable, however, from the fact of the apparent absence of an apocalyptic moment in the apocalypse as we have it.[38] In fact, the last

lxxiii, 10. 17); and Apoc. Ez. 11 25-7: "These under wings thought to set up themselves, and to have the rule. And I beheld, and lo, there was one set up, but within a while it appeared no more. A second also, and it was sooner away than the first."

[35] Six wings = six emperors of the Julian line.
Four winglets = Pertinax, Didius, Pescennius, Albinus.
Three heads = Septimius Severus, Geta, Caracalla.

[36] Gutschmid, *op. cit.*, p. 52: "Hiermit ist mathematisch bewiesen, . . . daß das Adlergesicht eine spätere Interpolation ist."

[37] Le Hir, *op. cit.*, p. 207: "Pour me resumer, le *iv*[e] livre d'Esdras tel que nous l'avons, est de l'an 218. Il a été composé par un chrêtien, à l'aide d'un document plus ancien, d'origine juive, et qui remontait au dernier quart du premier siècle."

[38] The feature of apocalyptic is its immediacy,—Daniel, Apoc. Baruch, the book of Revelation,—not to speak of the apocalyptic portions of Enoch, and the Solomonic Psalter, were tracts for the times, written in historical crises. The age of Severus was marked by no Gentile persecution of Jews,—though the emperor did enjoin them from making proselytes, and put down an uprising in Syria,—for which Bassianus, as crown prince, was awarded a triumph. "Filio sane concessit, ut triumpharet, cui sena-

apocalyptic moment in Hebrew history, having racial significance, was on the occasion of the ethnicising of Jerusalem by Hadrian, following the suppression of the Bar-Cochba rebellion. The emperor razed city and temple, sparing no pains to render insult as well as injury to the subject race.[39] The land was held for virgin soil,[40] a new temple built and dedicated to Jupiter. The pious sentiments of Israel were outraged by the sight of a statue of the emperor in the holy place,[41] and the sculptured image of a pig, surmounting the Bethlehem gate.[42] Though the period must have been one of activity in apocalyptic writing, no document relating to the Hadrianic persecution is known to have come down to us. This fact is passing strange,—that the Jews had not forgotten how to hate is shown by the evidence of a curse, "crush his bones," which in the Talmud and the Midrash follows the name of Hadrian.[43]

tus Iudaicum triumphum decreverat, idcirco quod et in Syria res bene gestae fuerant a Severo" (Spart. Severus, xvi).

[39] Schürer, Div. i, vol. 2, p. 293: "So long as Jerusalem lay in ruins, the Jews could cherish the hope of its restoration. The founding of a heathen city, the erection of a heathen temple on the holy place, put an end to these hopes in terrible manner." Compare also the testimony of the ancient historians: Appian, Syriaca, 50: *τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσολύμα καὶ ἁγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς* [Πομπήϊος] *ἔσκαψεν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθῃρήκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἁδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.* Jerome, ad Ioel. 1 4: Aelii quoque Hadriani contra Iudeaos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Ierusalem murosque subvertit ut de urbis reliquiis ac favillis sui nominis Aeliam conderet civitatem. Id. ad Isa. 1 5: Post Titum et Vespasianum et ultimam eversionem Jerusalem, sub Aelio Hadriano usque ad praesens tempus, nullum remedium est. Hadrian, in fact, pursued his policy of extermination in methodical and cold-blooded fashion,—successful where Antiochus Epiphanes had failed.

[40] Jerome, ad Zech. 8 19: Aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressae. Plowing up the ruins of a city symbolised the seizure of the site as virgin soil. "Ad ... diruendas civitates, aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu quo condita, subvertantur" (Servius, ad Aen., iv, 212).

[41] Jerome, ad Isa. 2 9: Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Iovis idolum collocatum est.

[42] Eusebius, Chron. (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, viii, col. 469): Aelia ab Aelio Hadriano condita, et in fronte eius portae, qua Bethleem egredimur, sus scalptus in marmore prominens, significans Romanis subiacere Iudaeos. Hadrian thus came to rival Antiochus as an object of execration.

[43] *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. "Hadrian," *ad fin.*

Imbedded in the text of the Apocalypse of Ezra, however, are yet to be found traces of a lost Hadrianic apocalypse, composed after the suppression of the Bar-Cochba rebellion.

Of these passages, the first is as follows: 10 21ff: "For thou seest that our sanctuary is laid waste, our altar broken down, our temple destroyed, our psaltery is brought low, our song is put to silence, our rejoicing is at an end, the light of our candlestick is put out, the ark of our covenant is spoiled, our holy things are defiled, and the name that is called upon us is profaned, our freemen are despitefully treated, our priests are burnt, our Levites are gone into captivity, our virgins are defiled and our wives ravished, our righteous men carried away, our little ones betrayed, our young men are brought into bondage, and our strong men are become weak, and what is more than all, the seal of Sion, for she had now lost the seal of her honor, and is delivered into the hands of them that hate us."

At first sight, this description might seem to apply equally well to the times of Vespasian and Hadrian. There is, however, a suggestion that the persecution has been unprecedentedly violent, practically a war of extermination, a policy for which Hadrian is known to have been responsible.[44]

In the second passage it is written: 12 14: "In the same shall twelve kings reign, one after another, whereof the second shall begin to reign, and shall have a longer time than any of the twelve." Compare also 11 17, — "There shall none after thee, (i. e., the second king) attain unto thy time, neither unto the half thereof."

The fact that the writer takes pains to distinguish the reign of Augustus in this manner, is due not to any desire to impress on his readers a fact of history,[45] but rather because the fact itself has some apocalyptic significance. Historically, in the period covered by the Eagle-vision, two emperors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, did indeed reign for a longer time than half the

[44] The founding of a heathen city on the site of Jerusalem may be implied in the reference to the "loss of the seal of Sion."

[45] A scientific historian deals with facts and writes history; the apocalyptist sees in history only a record, optionally falsifiable, with which to prove his theories.

years of Augustus. The writer must have known this, and, if he had been author instead of editor, he would have had no motive to ignore it. *If, however, the passage comes from a lost apocalypse inspired by the sad issue of the Bar-Cochba insurrection, and composed shortly before the death of Hadrian, ere the latter had been emperor half as many years as Augustus, it would have been much to the point for the author of the earlier document thus to predict the speedy end of the hated ruler, and the coming of the Messianic deliverance of Israel, by the statement that no emperor,—not even the one at that time in power,—was to have a reign half as long as "the second of the twelve."* [46]

With the identification of the nucleus of the Apocalypse of Ezra as a lost Hadrian-apocalypse, the way is open to the solution of other difficulties connected with our subject. The problem of the Clementine citation disappears, [47] since it is perfectly fair to suppose that he cited the lost Hadrian-apocalypse. As to the Eagle-vision, the lost apocalypse contained a much simpler version of it, in which the Roman empire was symbolised by an Eagle with twelve wings, representing the twelve emperors, [48] last of whom was Hadrian, the latter-day antitype of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was destined to be cast down to perdition by the hand of the Lord ere he had filled out a reign half as long as that of Augustus. [49]

In the reign of Caracalla, an apocalyptic moment of local significance occurred at Alexandria. On this occasion the tyrant added to his unlovely reputation by causing a massacre of all the able-bodied youth of the city. [50] In the number of

[46] An editor, forcing himself to keep the number at twelve, would here boldly ignore facts.

[47] See note 11. Briefly, the problem is as follows: 1. Clement cites 5 35,—hence the Apocalypse must have been written before 218. 2. But Clement could not have cited our Apocalypse of Ezra,—since it contains allusions to events subsequent to his own death.

[48] See note 24.

[49] 11 17.

[50] Spart., Caracalla, vi: Alexandriam petit, in gymnasium populum convocavit, eumque obiurgavit, legi etiam validos ad militiam praecepit. Eos autem, quos legerat, occidit exemplo Ptolemaei Euergetis, qui octavus

the slain there must have been many of Jewish descent, and this fact inspired a certain pious and liberal-minded Hebrew, the final editor of our Apocalypse of Ezra. To his pen we must ascribe the enlargement and adaptation of the Hadrian-apocalypse, in particular, as far as the Eagle-vision is concerned, the addition of the symbolism of the winglets,[51] the clumsy reckoning of the twelve wings,[52] and, what is most important, the accurate summary of Roman history under the Severan dynasty, as contained in the symbolism of the three heads.[53] The last part of the vision, containing allusions to the "small kingdom and full of trouble," [54] is best taken as a forecast of events to succeed the predicted assassination of Caracalla, whose fate was easy to prophesy, since he lived at a time when never more uneasy lay the head that wore the crown.

hoc nomine appellatus est. Dato praeterea signo militibus, ut hospites suos occiderent, magnam caedem Alexandriae fecit.

[51] 11 11, 12 20.

[52] Historically, (leaving out Galba, Otho, Vitellius), thirteen emperors reigned from the death of Augustus to the accession of Pertinax. In some way satisfactory to himself, the writer strait-jacketed facts in true apocalyptic manner,—his method is not worth guessing after.

[53] It is always to be observed that apocalyptists are the most accurate of historians for the times in which they live.

[54] 12 29-30.

Brief Communications.

The Names of the Months on S. P. ii 263.

AFTER my article on the Cuneiform Name of the Second Adar (above, pp. 139—145) was in type, Dr. Pinches was kind enough to re-examine the Babylonian variants to ASKT 64, 13. The result is that neither Pinches' original reading II-*bi* nor Strassmaier's II-*u* is correct: the two characters are *a-tar(kut)*. Strassmaier, however, was right in regarding the side of the tablet on which this reading is found as the reverse. On the obverse we find *ar(up)* + *tar(kut)* *ša* || (i. e. *Adari*). Pinches thinks that the scribe left out the characters *xu* and *a* between *ar(up)* and *tar(kut)*. He says, the text seems to be a student's practice-tablet. He therefore proposes to read *ar*[*-xu a-*]*tar ša Adari*.

I hardly think that the two signs have been omitted: the variant on the reverse is undoubtedly *arxu atar ša Adari*, but on the obverse we must read *arkût ša* ||, i. e. *arkût ša Adari* which means *After-Adar*, as I explained above, p. 144; cf. French *arrière-saison*, &c. Strassmaier's reading *ar-kat* is not correct. Dr. Schick informs me that this character (*kut*, *tar*) is exactly like the last sign of the Sumerian name of the Adar, *iti-še-kin-kut*. The duplicates referred to in Bezold's *Catalogue* sub K 8521 shed no light on the problem.

The variant on the reverse, *arxu atar ša Adari*, proves the correctness of my explanation of the Sumerian *dir*, which I suggested more than 25 years ago (BA 1, 14, l. 14; cf. above, p. 141, and PSBA 35, 23): *atar* is, of course, the construct of *atru* (= *ṯatru*) excess, just as we have *atar-xasîsu*, extremely clever (BA 2, 401; KB 6, 106, 39, and 415). For the construct before *ša* in *atar ša Adari* and *arkût ša Adari* cf. the conclusion of AG² § 98ᵃ (*ṭêm ša Arabi*, news of the Arabs).

Consequently we have, in addition to the five cuneiform names for the Second Adar, enumerated above, p. 144, a sixth name: *arxu atar ša Adari*. In the first name, Sumer. *iti-dir-še-kin-kut* (cf. p. 140, below) *dir* has been omitted on p. 144. The second name given above, on p. 144, is correct although it is not found on the tablet with the names of the months.

Pinches' paper on the Sumerians of Lagaš in the first part of PSBA 35 was published after I had sent the manuscript of my article on the Second Adar to the Editor of this JOURNAL (Jan. 4, 1913). According to Pinches (PSBA 35, 20. 23. 127) the Sumerian name of the Adar does not mean *grain-harvest month*, but *grain-mowing month*, i. e. the month in which the blades of the wheat-plants were mown. He connects this designation with the statement in Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 8, 7 (cf. G. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, 1, 47) that it was the custom to mow the growing blades twice, and then to allow the beasts of the field to feed off them.

For the unlucky character of the number 13 cf. Ernst Böklen, *Die "Unglückszahl" Dreizehn und ihre mythische Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1913). According to F. Ll. Griffith (EB[11] 9, 77[b], below) the five epagomenal days were considered unlucky in Egypt; therefore no known monument or legal document is dated in them; see, however, Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, vol. i, part 2 (1913) pp. 31. 107. 110.

Johns Hopkins University.

Paul Haupt.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 1912.

THE forty-eighth meeting of the Society was held in the National Museum, Washington, D. C., on Friday and Saturday, December twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, 1912. The first session began at 2.30 P. M, in room 45. President Paton took the Chair and read the annual address. His subject was "Israel in Canaan." By reason of a gratifying increase in attendance, adjournment was taken at this point, from room 45, which was overcrowded, to the Auditorium of the Museum. At 3.15, Professor Montgomery read the report of the Corresponding Secretary, after which the Recording Secretary read his report. These reports were accepted and placed on file. It was voted that the obituary portion of the Recording Secretary's report be printed in the Journal. Professor Prince then read the Treasurer's report, and the Recording Secretary read his financial statement. These two accounts with their vouchers were referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Professors Kyle and Kelso.

From 3.30 to 5.00, papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Bacon: "The Prologue to John of Codex Toletanus."
(This paper was presented only in part.)
By Professor Prince: "Note on Ichabod."
By Professor Haupt: "The Visions of Zechariah."
By Professor Cadbury: "The Alleged Medical Language of Luke and Acts."
By Professor Jastrow: "An Analysis of Leviticus XIII—XIV."

The Chair appointed Professors Jastrow, Fullerton and Kelso a Committee to nominate officers.

Adjourned.

Friday evening. The Society met in the Auditorium, in joint session with the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association.

Saturday A. M., December twenty-eight. The joint session was resumed at 9.30, in four sections. The Oriental Section met in the Auditorium, and most of the papers presented were by members of the "Biblical Society."

Saturday P. M. The Society met in the Auditorium at 2.30, but soon adjourned to rooms 46 and 47, in order that the joint meeting of the other two Societies might have sufficient space. Professor Kyle reported that the Auditing Committee had found the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer and of the Recording Secretary correct. The Council reported that they had elected Professor James A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Professor William H. P. Hatch and William H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting is to be held December 29 and 30, 1913, at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, with Professors Friedländer, Gottheil and Prince as Committee of Arrangements. They nominated for active membership in the Society:

Miss Charlotte H. Adams, New York City, New York.
Dr. Earl Bennett Cross, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
Prof. D. E. Culley, Western Theological Sem., Pittsburgh, Pa.
George Dahl, M. A., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
Dr. Orrin D. Foster, Madison, Wisconsin.
Rev. Warren F. Gookin, Episcopal Theol. School, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. Charles B Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Connecticut.
Dr. Matthew W. Lampe, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Walter A. Matos, Swarthmore, Pa.
Rev. John Meighan, New Britain, Pa.
Rev. John Miller, A. M., Coudersport, Pa.
Rev. William M. Nesbit, A. M., Montclair, N. J.
Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, Hartford Theological Sem., Hartford, Conn.
Prof. Frank H. Ridgely, Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.
Prof. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mr. Louis Wallis, Chicago, Illinois.
Dr. Clarence R. Williams, Philadelphia, Pa.
These were all unanimously elected.

Professor Jastrow reported for the Nominating Committee, presenting the following list of officers:

Prof. George A. Barton	*President.*
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt	*Vice-President.*
Rev. William H. Cobb	*Recording Secretary.*
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince	*Treasurer.*
Prof. William R. Arnold Prof. Walter R. Betteridge Prof. Loring W. Batten Prof. Francis A. Christie Prof. Edward I. Bosworth	*Associates in Council.*

These were all unanimously elected.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to the institutions that have hospitably entertained its members: to the Washington Society of the Archaeological Institute; to the Smithsonian Institution; and to the Universities of Washington and vicinity.

Papers were then presented as follows:

By Professor Pratt: "Statistical Experiences in the Psalter."
By Professor Haupt: "The Cuneiform Name of the Second Adar."
By Mr. George V. Schick: "The Hebrew Adverb Dûmâm."
By Professor Bacon: the conclusion of his paper on the Prologue to John.
By Dr. Kyle: "The Hyksos of Heliopolis."
By Professor Robinson: "The Mosaic Olive-Press at Moresheth-Gath."
(This was read, in the author's absence, by the Recording Secretary.)

Adjourned at 4.30.

William H. Cobb,
Recording Secretary.

MEMBERS DECEASED

Daniel Merriman. We lament the loss of one who was not only a Christian scholar, but also, and emphatically, a Christian gentleman. He was keenly alive to all forms of religious progress, and in hearty sympathy with critical research; his face was ever turned towards the dawn.

Henry S. Nash. His published works were known and appreciated everywhere; one might single out for mention here

a small book in the direct field of our Society, "The Higher Criticism of the New Testament." He impressed his own original and delightful personality upon his students.

William N. Clarke. He also was an eminent author who trained successive generations of students for the Christian ministry. Though a theologian rather than an exegete, he always remembered that exegesis gives theology its best material. His "Outlines of Christian Theology" appeared at a most opportune moment, and holding out a hand of welcome to both conservatives and liberals, helped them to understand each other.

Willis J. Beecher. A pioneer founder of the Society. He served as its Treasurer for nineteen years, 1884—1902. His papers and brief notes in the Journal were always important and suggestive. His judicial cast of mind will be recalled gratefully by all who knew him. He was ready, on the one hand, to criticize men of his own school of thought; on the other hand, to demand justice and liberty for friends of the opposite camp. President Harper said of him:

"He holds a conservative position, it is true; but he reaches it by modern methods."

If he had written nothing else, "The Prophets and the Promise" would keep his memory green.

George D. Castor. This is in some respects the saddest death we have to chronicle. He was one of our younger members, who lost his life in a drowning accident in July, 1912. Joining the Society in 1906, and making his mark in Yale Theological Seminary, he afterwards removed to the far West, and entered on a promising career as Professor in Pacific Theological Seminary.

To human judgment, the life-work of the other four deceased members was mainly accomplished, while his was mainly incomplete. But in this, as in all things, human judgment is subject to revision by the wisdom of the All-Seeing.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

December, 1911, to December, 1912

Receipts

1912		
Jan. 1,	Carried forward	$ 52 73
	Dues	648 10
	Initiations	75 00
	Professor Schmidt	194 00
	Total	$ 969 83

Disbursements

1912		
Jan. 3,	Dr. Cobb	$ 15 00
May 16,	J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 1	233 70
July 3,	J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 2	124 12
Oct. 14,	J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 3	162 78
Dec. 8,	J. A. Montgomery	15 00
Dec. 19,	J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 4	239 65
	Exchange	.10
	Cash in hand	178 61
	Total	$ 969 83

Respectfully submitted, Dec. 27, 1912.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 27, 1912.

M. J. KYLE,
J. A. KELSO, } *Auditors.*

REPORT

OF

FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

	Balance, Dec. 28, 1911	$ 63 18
1912		
Jan. 2,	Sale of offprints (Newbold)	15 00
July 3,	Sale of offprints (Arnold)	5 00
July 22,	Sale of offprints (Burton)	15 00
Oct. 7,	Sale of offprints (Haupt)	10 00
Dec. 24,	Journal sales for the year	211 75
		$ 319 93

Disbursements

1912		
	Thomas Todd, printing programmes, circulars, etc.	$ 32 46
	Carter, Rice & Co., envelopes	18 78
	B. Herder, subscription cancelled	2 00
	Berwick & Smith Co., printing leaflets	2 00
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 1	55 11
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 2	57 50
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 3	42 48
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 4	42 01
	Jordan, Lovett & Co., insurance	10 20
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 1	12 00
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 2	13 00
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 3	3 41
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 4	4 90
	Postage, expressage, etc, for the year	9 01
		$ 304 86
Dec. 28,	Balance in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston	15 07
		$ 319 93

Audited and found correct, Dec. 27, 1912.

M. J. KYLE,
J. A. KELSO, } *Auditors.*

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

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Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. S. R. Driver, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.
Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.
Pres. S. Schechter, Litt.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen University.
Prof. Bernhard Weiss, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(496) '13 Miss Charlotte H. Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
(482) '12 Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(425) '08 Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(462) '10 Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, 845 Monroe Ave., Scranton, Pa.
(243) '92 Prof. A. W. Anthony, Lewiston, Me.
(341) '00 Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr., Library Place, Princeton, N.J.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.
(469) '11 Phillips Barry, A.M., Felton Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., Gen. Theol. Seminary, Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(310) '97 Rev. R. H. Beattie, M A., 321 N. Central Ave, Austin Station, Chicago, Ill.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Aug. 26, 1913. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(51) '81 Prof. I. T. Beckwith, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(343) '00 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(398) '07 Prof. Francis B. Blodgett, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(130) '84 Rev. C. F. Bradley, D.D., 90 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., 281 4th Ave., N.Y. City.
(352) '02 Prof. Caroline M. Breyfogle, 16 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
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(351) '02 Arthur Bumstead, 842 Somerset Bldg., Winnepeg, Can.
(120) '84 Prof. Sylvester Burnham, D.D., Hamilton, N.Y.
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(470) '11 Pres. Marion LeRoy Burton, D.D., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(22) '80 Pres. H. A. Buttz, D.D., Madison, N.J.
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(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
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(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph.D., 1928 Lithgow Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(483) '12 Miss Ethel Cutler, B.D., 600 Lexington Ave., N.Y. City.
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(452) '10 Prof. Henry Hyvernat, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C.
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(338) '00 Prof. James A. Kelso, Ph.D., Western Theol. Sem., Allegheny, Pa.
(448) '09 Prof. John B. Kelso, Ph.D., Wooster Univ., Wooster, O.
(438) '08 Prof. Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Mass.
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(460) '10 Rev. Raymond C. Knox, Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
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(393) '06 Nicholas A. Koenig, 80 W. 12th St., N.Y. City.

(473) '11 Rev. M. G. Kyle, D.D., 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
(504) '13 Matthew W. Lampe, Ph.D., 1339 South 52d St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(395) '06 Robert Lau, Ph.D., 125 Harrison Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(486) '12 Rev. Robert F. Lau, A.M., Chelsea Square, N.Y. City.
(371) '03 Prof. Adelaide I. Locke, Wellesley College, Mass.
(372) '04 Prof. Lindsay B. Longacre, Ph.D., University Park, Denver, Col.
(71) '82 Prof. D. G. Lyon, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.
(244) '92 Prof. D. B. Macdonald, Hartford, Conn.
(474) '11 Rev. Alex. B. Macleod, Millis, Mass.
(319) '98 Prof. John E. McFadyen, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.
(300) '96 Prof. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
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(505) '13 Rev. Walter A. Matos, Swarthmore, Pa.
(506) '13 Rev. John Meighan, New Britain, Pa.
(336) '00 Rev. Henry C. Meserve, Danbury, Conn.
(507) '13 Rev. John Miller, A.M., Coudersport, Pa.
(407) '07 Prof. Lucius H. Miller, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N.J.
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(35) '80 Prof. H. G. Mitchell, D.D., 36 Pinckney St., Boston, Mass.
(475) '11 Prof. Conrad H. Moehlmann, 51 Mulberry St., Rochester, N.Y.
(236) '92 Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Ph.D., 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa.
(449) '09 Prof. Lilla F. Morse, S.T.M., Mt. Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
(331) '99 Prof. Warren J. Moulton, Ph.D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(170) '87 Rev. P. S. Moxom, D.D., 83 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass.
(419) '08 Mrs. Juliet E. O. Munsell, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
(241) '92 Rev. C. S. Murkland, D.D., Middlebury, Vt.
(214) '91 Prof. W. Muss-Arnolt, Ph.D., Public Library, Boston, Mass.
(508) '13 Rev. Wm. M. Nesbit, A.M., 266 Orange Rd., Montclair, N.J.
(490) '12 Prof. Wm. R. Newbold, Ph.D., 212 St. Mark's Square Philadelphia, Pa.
(478) '11 Miss Helen Nichols, Ph.D., Ogontz School, Ogontz, Pa.
(346) '00 Rev. James B. Nies. Ph.D., Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(489) '12 Rev. Daniel I. Odell, 2112 North 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(476) '11 Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Ph.D., Miss Porter's School, Farmington, Conn.
(240) '92 Prof. L. B. Paton, Ph.D., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
(459) '10 Rev. Carl S. Patton, 162 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.

(154) '86 Prof. Wm. L. Pearson, Ph.D., Friends Univ., Wichita, Kan.
(323) '98 Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Ph.D., Syracuse, N.Y.
(87) '83 Rev. J. P. Peters, D.D., 225 W. 99th St., N.Y. City.
(491) '12 Prof. Llewellyn Phillips, Bushnell Univ., Lewisburg, Pa.
(46) '81 Rev. Bernhard Pick, D.D., 140 Court St., Newark, N.J.
(378) '05 William Popper, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(254) '93 Prof. F. C. Porter, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
(509) '13 Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, Mus. Doc., Hartford Theol. Sem. Hartford, Conn.
(176) '87 Prof. Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(245) '92 Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(361) '03 Prof. Harry L. Reed, Auburn Theol. Sem., Auburn, N.Y.
(30) '80 Prof. M. B. Riddle, D.D., 287 Ridge Ave., Allegheny, Pa.
(510) '13 Prof. Frank Harris Ridgely, Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.
(83) '83 Rev. J. F. Riggs, D.D., 56 Halstead St., E. Orange, N.J.
(105) '84 Prof. J. S. Riggs, D.D., Auburn, N.Y.
(455) '10 Prof. A. T. Robertson, D.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem. Louisville, Ky.
(389) '06 Prof. Benj. W. Robinson, Ph.D., Chicago Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill.
(284) '95 Prof. Geo. L. Robinson, Ph.D., 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
(180) '88 Prof. R. W. Rogers, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N.J.
(47) '81 Prof. C. J. H. Ropes, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(285) '95 Prof. James H. Ropes, D.D., 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass.
(387) '05 Prof. Elbert Russell, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
(183) '88 Prof. W. H. Ryder, D.D., Andover, Mass.
(456) '10 Prof. J. R. Sampey, LL.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(187) '88 Pres. F. K. Sanders, D.D., Topeka, Kan.
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal* was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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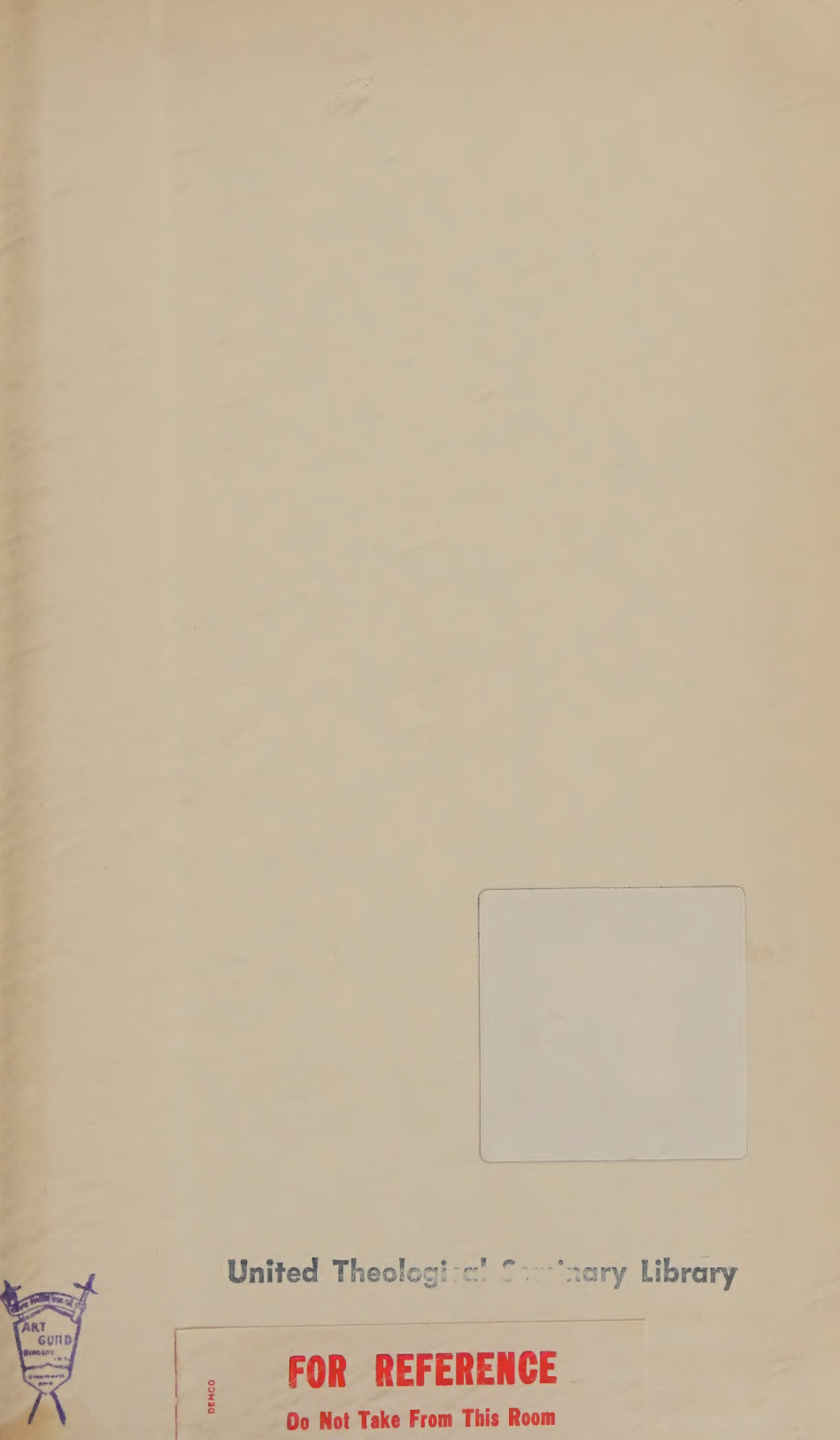

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